THE WAR OFFICE PAST AND PRESENT

CAPTAIN OWEN WHEELER

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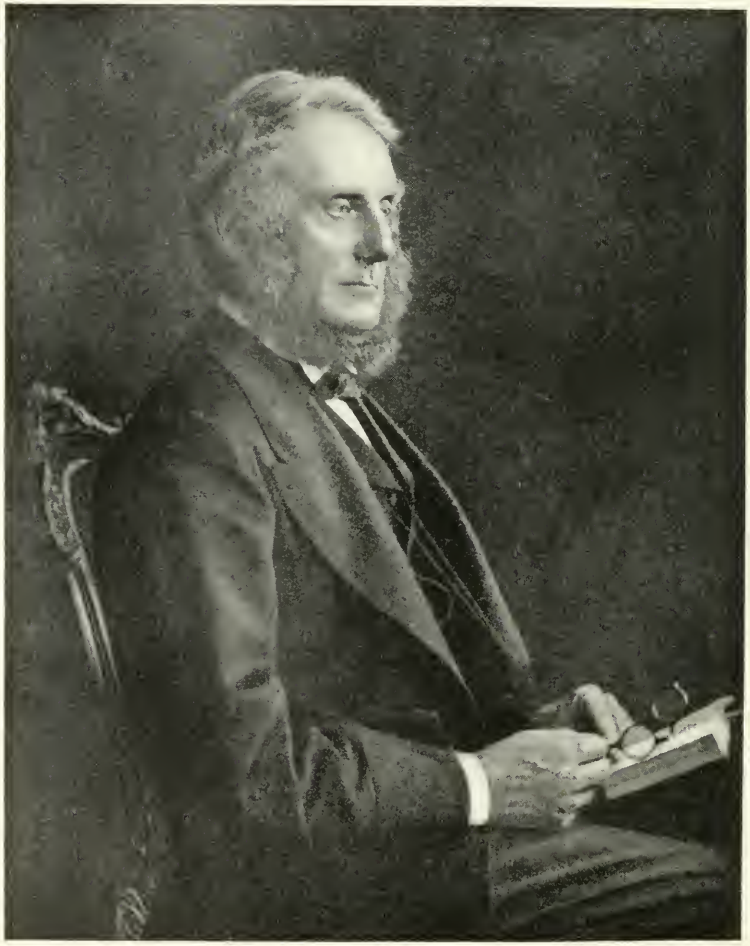

LORD CARDWELL

THE WAR OFFICE PAST AND PRESENT

BY

CAPTAIN OWEN WHEELER

WITH FOURTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

IN official quarters the view may be held that for a writer to attempt a record of the War Office who has never served in it is sheer presumption. But impartial reflection should persuade those not entirely under the spell of the *genius loci* that there are no more valid reasons why the public history of Government Departments should be exclusively compiled by departmental officials than there are for restricting to military pens the stories of campaigns. There may be secret archives into which the outsider has no chance of peeping, and, in regard to those who are holding, or have recently held, high posts in the Office, daily intercourse may enable a fuller and possibly fairer judgment to be formed. But, beyond confidential information which is not likely ever to be made public, the main facts, at any rate, of War Office history are accessible to anyone who will take the necessary pains to collect them. The majority, too, of the higher officials in any Government Department are public characters of whose dispositions and capabilities even the man in the street is nowadays unlikely to retain for long an erroneous impression.

On the other hand absolute independence, such as the writer can confidently claim, seems an important desideratum in this connexion. Cases might readily be quoted of publications having reference to departmental institutions and personalities, the value of which has been appreciably modified by obvious anxiety not to offend important susceptibilities by giving any but the accepted official view of an incident or a line of policy.

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In passing it may be stated that in the production of this work not a penny of public money has been disbursed, nor an hour of public time expended. Assistance has been kindly offered by high officials, but it has been found possible to avoid troubling them, except to an insignificant extent, by making a particularly full and free use of the British Museum Library, where probably almost everything that is in the War Office, and can with propriety be used, is to be found in one form or another, together, of course, with much that is not so compactly available anywhere else.

As to authorities, up to the time of the Peninsular War the writer's constant prop has been Mr. Fortescue's great "History of the British Army," the depth, refinement, and accuracy of which can only be properly appreciated by those who have had occasion to travel over the same ground. A somewhat different view is taken in this book from that which Mr. Fortescue takes of certain episodes. But this, of course, in no way affects the writer's sense of his indebtedness. For the pre-Restoration period, apart from the Calendar of State Papers and various Histories, one naturally relies on Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army," which is, not only itself a most valuable compendium of facts, but also a pointer to many other sources of information. The Clarke Papers, edited by Dr. Firth for the Camden Society, have also been duly consulted. In dealing with the Restoration the only volume published of Colonel Clifford Walton's "History of the British Standing Army" proved very useful, and, of course, the Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn have been attentively studied. For the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth a mass of contemporary literature was assimilated, much of which, it must be confessed, yielded little of real account. Dalton's "Army Lists" and his "George the First's

Army" have been carefully scrutinized, and the Mary Ann Clarke scandal investigated independently with some thoroughness.

For the rest the writer has not spared himself in the matter of the general reading which must go to supplement solid research in the production of a narrative such as this. He has had frequent recourse to the "Dictionary of National Biography," but has also conscientiously examined a stack of memoirs, biographies, and personal papers, including those relating to the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Herbert of Lea, Lord Panmure, Lord Wolseley, and many others.

The two principal official publications consulted have been the "Army Book for the British Empire" (1893) and the War Office List. The first has long been out of print, but up to a certain point remains an invaluable book of reference. The War Office List is hardly as exact as it should be in the matter of the rolls of Commanders-in-Chief, but for such inaccuracies as have been noted the present Editor cannot be held responsible.

From Sir Robert Biddulph's "Lord Cardwell at the War Office," and Mr. J. H. Stocqueler's "Personal History of the Horse Guards," some intimate details have been borrowed with, it is hoped, adequate acknowledgment.

In the preparation of his MS. for the press the writer has had throughout the assistance of his daughter, Margaret, and is indebted to her, in addition, for many helpful suggestions.

O. W.

WEYBRIDGE, *January* 1914

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THE WAR OFFICE PAST AND PRESENT

CHAPTER I

PRE-RESTORATION DAYS

THE oldest institution in our military hierarchy is the office of Commander-in-Chief, which may be said to date from the year 54 B.C., when Cassivellaunus assumed the headship of a confederated British army in order to oppose the second invasion of Julius Cæsar. For some centuries leadership in the field was, for Britons, English, and Normans, the main military consideration, but, as time went on, it became necessary for the Royal Commanders-in-Chief, even of the very small British armies which went forth to war in the Middle Ages, to depute to others a variety of matters not directly pertaining to strategy or tactics. Accordingly, in 1347 we find, at the Siege of Calais by Edward III, a "Chief Engineer," one John Gruynard, who had under him over three hundred masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tentmakers, miners, armourers, gunners, and artillerymen. Again, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the Board of Ordnance, with the "Master of Ordnance" at its head, was established in the Tower of London to take charge, on behalf of the King, of all matters concerning fortifications, sieges, artillery, and stores. Thus from early times we see provision made for two great military requirements—leadership and munitions of war.

But an army has, of course, to be fed and paid, as well as armed and commanded, and these two items naturally came into greater prominence by reason of the nation's constant commitments in regard to foreign enterprises. At first the matter of pay and supplies was dealt with as occasion arose, separate arrangements being made for each campaign. In Tudor times, when there was only one Secretary of State, a branch of the latter's office had general control of the pay of the troops. But during a campaign the practice was to appoint Treasurers-at-War, officials to whom there are several allusions in the State Papers for the sixteenth century. Thus in May 1586 we have Richard Huddleston rendering his accompt as Treasurer-at-War for the army in the Low Countries, and we may take it that the cost of the inept operations in question was severely scrutinized, not only in the Secretary of State's Office, but also by Queen Elizabeth herself, who was anything but generous as regards the pay and feeding of her soldiers. And so we are brought gradually to about the year 1620, when a separate "War Office" actually came into existence, the prototype of the great department which to-day administers an army of over 650,000 men, and, through the medium of the Imperial General Staff, shoots forth its tentacles into almost every nook and cranny of the world.

Of the pre-Cromwellian War Office we know little, except that it was constituted under a Committee of the Privy Council, the Clerk to the Committee being called the Secretary-at-War. The first Secretary-at-War of whom any record can be found was Edward Walker, who is curtly noted in the latter-day War Office List as holding the post in 1644. As a matter of fact he was appointed two years earlier, and in the year mentioned was promoted to another office. Sir Edward Walker—he was afterwards knighted and became Garter King-of-Arms—was born about 1612, and as a young man

entered the service of the Earl of Arundel, who was General of the Royal army in the Scotch Wars. When the Civil War broke out Walker followed the King to York and Oxford, and in 1642 Charles appointed him his Secretary-at-War. Two years later he became Secretary Extraordinary to the Privy Council. He appears to have been a pushing, consequential person, and looms larger in the history of the College of Arms than in that of the War Office. But it is a somewhat interesting coincidence that, only a year after his promotion from the Secretaryship-at-War—indeed, he may still have been holding that appointment in conjunction with his new one—he should, like John Rushworth, another War Secretary of whom we shall hear presently, have been present at the Battle of Naseby.

Reverting to 1620, it would seem that the Committee of the Privy Council which became a "War Office" about that time was identical with the "Council of War" which makes its appearance in the State Papers of 1620, and again in 1621, and thenceforward with increasing frequency for a number of years. This was a standing Council, quite distinct, of course, from councils of war assembled in the field, and in several respects its duties must have coincided with those of the modern Army Council. An early entry is typical of a good many communications which are still annually received in Whitehall. It refers to the petition of Sir Robert Jackson, "Controller of the Musters" at Berwick-on-Tweed, for increase of pay, the increase of business obliging him to keep more clerks, "and all other officers in the garrison being raised."

The Calendar of State Papers for 1621 contains a reference to a very interesting detailed report presented to the Council of War of the estimated charge of raising and setting forth an army of 25,000 foot, 5000 horse, 50 pieces of artillery, etc., "which will be necessary for

the present enterprise," the latter being that expedition which James I talked about sending and, as might have been expected, did not send, in aid of the German Protestants against the Spaniards. The total preliminary charges amounted to £207,736, and the subsequent monthly expenditure on transport, ammunition, "wages," and provisions was to amount to £76,064. The cost of such "enterprises" has indeed risen since then!

In April 1624 we find a reference to an important document dated from "Theobald's," in which the King appoints Viscount Grandison, Lords Carew, Brooke, Chichester, and others to "act as a Council of War for assisting the King's Allies, securing Ireland, and putting the Navy in Order." Truly the whirligig of Time brings in strange revenges. In the seventeenth century it was the existing War Office which was entrusted with the task of putting the Navy in order; at the commencement of the twentieth an Admiral formed one of the Esher Committee of three which turned the War Office inside out. To the above entry in the Calendar of State Papers a note is appended to the effect that the rare and curious print of the Council of War sitting in Council is to be found in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

At this period, and, indeed, until the formation of Cromwell's "New Model," the military system of England was in a very bad way. During the reign of Elizabeth there had been to some extent a revival of interest in military matters, which was naturally accentuated by the approach of the Spanish Armada. The Militia, the old Constitutional Force of the country, which had already been in existence some seven or eight centuries, and in which every Englishman was liable to serve, was theoretically the mainspring of the military system, but had fallen into such a state of desuetude that it

AN OLD-TIME ARMY COUNCIL

FROM A CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING

could not be relied on even for home defence. Accordingly, Elizabeth ordered that in every county "a convenient number of able men" should be "sorted in bands, and trained and exercised in such sort as may reasonably be borne by a common charge of the whole county." The "trained bands" here and there attained some degree of efficiency; but as a general rule, and especially outside London, they were of small military account. For foreign service reliance had to be placed chiefly on impressment, which, with pressmasters like Sir John Falstaff, naturally produced very poor results. We have only to turn to the second scene of Act iii. of "The Second Part of King Henry IV" to see how easy it was for an unscrupulous recruiter to get money for letting sturdy young fellows like Bullcalf stay at home, while the Shadows and Feebles and Warts were duly pressed, or, as Shakespeare puts it, "pricked." The system continued, with similar results, throughout the Tudor times, and in 1587 we have Barnaby Rich, quoted by Firth, saying that "In England when service happeneth we disburthen the prisons of thieves, we rob the taverns and alehouses of tosspots and ruffians, we scour both town and country of rogues and vagabonds."

The only relief to this sombre picture of military ineptitude is furnished by two expeditions, composed of volunteers, which were sent to Germany and Holland in connexion with the Thirty Years' War; but the aggregate of these was little more than 8000 men, and, in order to provide Count Mansfeld, in the autumn of 1624, with "a rabble of raw and poor rascals" to the number of 12,000, the "King's Press" had to be called urgently into requisition.

Again, in 1625, Charles I having resolved to take a stronger line than his father, "and the Militia being, through the long continued Peace, decayed," the Lord-

Lieutenants of counties were, by Order of Council, commanded "to make a general muster of the trained Horse and Foot, and to see to the sufficiency of the Men, Horses, and Arms." But there could have been no hope of obtaining from any such muster an adequate number of volunteers, for Mansfeld's men were already dying like flies, and the people were becoming fully alive to the hardships and miseries of foreign service. So, in May 1625 we hear no more of the "general muster of the trained Horse and Foot," but warrants are issued for "a Levy of Soldiers for the service of the Palatinate whereof 8000 are to rendezvous at Plimouth, the Coat and Conduct money to be disbursed out of the Exchequer," and 2000 more to be transported to the Netherlands for the service of the "States."

These pressed men gave trouble even at home, more especially in connexion with the system of billeting upon private citizens which, it will be remembered, was one of the four points raised in the Petition of Right in 1628. In 1639 and 1640, during the two Scottish Wars, which had such a humiliating ending in the Battle of Newburn and the Treaty of Ripon, there were a number of pressed men from the southern counties in Charles's army, and these behaved shamefully, mutinying, killing their commanders, and plundering and ravaging right and left, even to the extent of entering churches and burning surplices and Communion rails.

With the outbreak of the Civil War such little system as had previously existed in regard to military affairs disappeared, and for a considerable time, both on the Royalist and on the Parliamentary sides, things were managed in a very spasmodic and incoherent manner. At first, as Firth points out in his "Cromwell's Army," each party raised the forces it put into the field by voluntary enlistment. A year later both found it necessary to resort to impressment, and the first appear-

ance of John Rushworth, afterwards to all intents and purposes the Parliamentary Secretary-at-War, in the Calendar of State Papers is in reference to an impressment order issued in 1644. There had been other similar ordinances in the previous year, and this was a letter from the "Committee of Both Kingdoms" to the Deputy-Lieutenants and Committee of Essex authorizing the raising, levying, and impressment of soldiers in order to bring the army of General Fairfax to its full number. But, while both King and Parliament could and did impress large numbers of men—probably 60,000 or 70,000 men were raised and armed on each side—in neither case was any proper provision made, at any rate at first, for pay and food. The King tried to get over the difficulty by subsisting his troops on the country—a proceeding fatal to discipline as well as most oppressive. The Parliament had better resources, but failed to use them to much purpose until the formation by Cromwell, in the early days of 1645, of the Army of the New Model, perhaps, all things being considered, the greatest triumph in the way of military organization the world has ever known.

But, as this is a history not of the Army but of the War Office, we must not linger over the construction and achievements of the New Model. Indeed, the whole chronicle of the Civil War has not a very close relation with our subject except through the medium of three personalities, with one of whom, Edward Walker, we have already come in contact. The second is a man whose name is very familiar to students of this period of our history because in a sort of way he was a historian himself, besides looming quite large in the Parliamentarian record. John Rushworth, who was a little over thirty when the Civil War broke out, had been brought up to the law, and in 1638 he was appointed solicitor to the town of Berwick-on-Tweed. In 1640 he became

Clerk-Assistant to the House of Commons, and in that capacity made good use of his knowledge of shorthand, then a rare accomplishment. When the rupture between the King and the Parliament took place, Rushworth acted as a messenger between the latter and its Committees at York, Oxford, and elsewhere, displaying great zeal and activity.

In Peacock's "Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers," there is a list of the officers of the Parliamentary army under Essex, who was Captain-General, with Philip Skippon as his "Serjeant Major Generall and President of the Councell of Warre." In this list there is no allusion to Rushworth, but Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Knight, is mentioned as "Treasurer-at-Warres," and Henry Parker, Esquire, as Secretary of the Army. When, however, the New Model was organized, Rushworth was at once appointed Secretary to the General and to the Council or Committee of War. His name duly appears as holding these appointments in another of the "Army Lists" reprinted by Peacock, the date of which is 1647. In this list, which is headed by Fairfax, are also included the names of Rushworth's two clerks, Thomas Wragge and William Clarke, the latter destined, as we shall see, to succeed his master and to surpass him in distinction.

Rushworth was present at the Battle of Naseby—one wonders whether he and Walker by chance caught sight of one another, and trusts that never again will two English War Secretaries be found in two such opposite camps—and accompanied Fairfax also throughout the campaigns of 1646 and 1648, writing accounts of the various operations. At the end of the Instructions of the General Council for "the immediate securing of the King's person from escape," dated Whitehall, 23 December, 1648, we find the endorsement, "Ordered that Jo^{n}. Rushworth Esquire, his Excel-

lencie's Secretary, signe these Instrucions now agreed uppon in the name of his Excellencie and the Councell as at other times." From which it is evident that the former solicitor to the town of Berwick-on-Tweed —he had since, by the way, been called, in 1647, to the Bar—had become an official of very considerable importance.

John Rushworth also acted for a few months in 1650 as Cromwell's Secretary, and subsequently held various lucrative posts. But his affairs became greatly embarrassed, and the last six years of his life were spent in the King's Bench Prison, Southwark. He died in 1690, leaving behind him, in addition to his records of battles and operations, an "Historical Collection" in eight volumes dealing with events from 1618 to 1648. His account of the Civil War was compiled largely from the newspapers and pamphlets of the period, and is of no great value or interest, but, where he reproduces his own shorthand notes, he has often proved helpful to later historians.

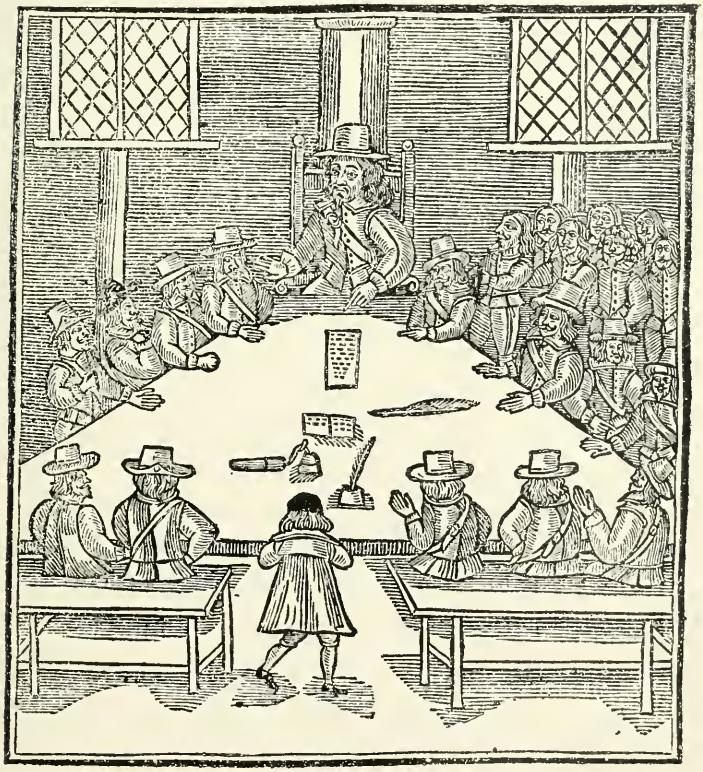
There were three distinct links between the Army of Parliament and the modern British Army, which was born at the Restoration. One of these was General Monck or Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, who was Captain-General for a time under the new dispensation which he himself did so much to bring about. A second was Monk's Coldstream Regiment of Foot, which was retained for the purposes of the "Royal Guards and Garrisons," and is now the Coldstream Guards. And the third was William, afterwards Sir William, Clarke, who, after fifteen years' devoted service with the armies of Parliament, became at the Restoration the first of a long line of Secretaries-at-War.

William Clarke was born about 1623, and, like Rushworth, made a study of the law, being "called" in 1653. He was, as we have seen, appointed clerk to Rushworth

when the New Model came into being, and doubtless worked under him for some years. He took part in Cromwell's invasion of Scotland in 1650, and, when Cromwell, in 1651, marched back into England in pursuit of Charles, leaving Colonel Lilburne behind in command of an "army of occupation," Clarke remained with the latter as Secretary. In 1654 Lilburne handed over his command to Monk, warmly recommending Clarke to his notice. Henceforth Clarke was Monk's devoted adherent, and was greatly esteemed by the General, who trusted him with his most secret transactions. Many efforts were made to win him from Monk's side, but he was impervious alike to promises or threats. As Monk's Secretary, Clarke was behind the scenes at a very dappled period, and must from time to time have exerted considerable influence. The "Clarke Papers," issued by the Camden Society, are of much greater interest and significance than John Rushworth's "Historical Collection," and contain a quantity of information not otherwise accessible.

But it cannot be said that either from this or any other source is much to be gleaned of direct bearing upon the early history of the War Office. It must, too, be admitted that there were few points of similarity between the position and duties of either a Parliamentary or Royalist Secretary-at-War and those of the Secretary of State for War as he exists to-day. The former was evidently for the most part a sort of clerk or personal assistant to the Commander-in-Chief in the field, and as such he had little or nothing to do with the great majority of the matters with which a modern War Office is concerned. In particular, he had no responsibility in regard to the pay of the troops, a responsibility which, indeed, did not seem to sit very heavily upon anyone's shoulders except those of the leaders of the various armies, who were constantly com-

The manner of His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Officers of His Armie sitting in COVNCELL.



A PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL OF WAR

FROM A WOODCUT IN A CONTEMPORARY PAMPHLET

plaining to headquarters of the arrears—sometimes as much as seven months' pay—due to their men. Between 1649 and 1660 matters improved in this respect, but not as regards troops employed on colonial service, for in July 1655 the regiments in Jamaica had only received twelve days' pay during the past six months, and "things grew worse afterwards." But nothing of this could be fairly laid at the door of the Council of War, much less of its Secretary. The revenue of the country simply fell short of the expenditure, especially the military expenditure, and even Cromwell himself, when he became Lord Protector, could not make the national account balance satisfactorily.

Commanders in the field made most of their own commissariat arrangements, but clothing and equipment were supplied by the Government. Dr Firth tells us that "Parliament, the Council of State, or the Committee for the Army purchased what was needed, or more frequently contracted for it with the manufacturers, and handed it over to the regiments for which it was required. The cost of the clothing thus supplied was deducted from the pay of the men." In this important respect, then, we do see some approximation to modern methods in the shape of a central system of supply, and incidentally it is interesting to find that in the army clothing contracts of the period provision was made for inspection, not only by Government officials, but also by experts selected for the purpose.

Enough has been said to show that, even if our modern War Office can hardly claim to have a history prior to the Restoration, there was a good deal in the forty years preceding that great event which is of real interest in connexion with later developments. As far back as 1620, at all events, there was something in the nature of a standing Council or Committee of War, and, even in the welter of struggles and intrigues with which the

annals of the Commonwealth as well as those of the Stuarts abound, we find a steady adherence to the principle of a central military authority closely in touch with Parliament—the fundamental idea, of course, on which the War Office of the twentieth century conducts its multifarious business.

CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH OF THE WAR OFFICE

WITH the Restoration the real history of the War Office, as of the modern British Army, begins. It may be mentioned in passing that in 1657 Charles II, then at Bruges, had formally reappointed Sir Edward Walker as Secretary-at-War. The commission is reproduced in Colonel Clifford Walton's "History of our Standing Army," and is interesting, but of little historical account, as a Secretary-at-War's duties in such circumstances are hardly to be taken seriously. Moreover, when the Restoration itself became an accomplished fact, Walker's appointment apparently lapsed. For it is pretty clear from General Monk's correspondence that until the end of the year 1660 the work of the post was done by "Mr. Secretary Nicholes." On 28 January, 1661, Sir William Clarke —he had been knighted shortly after the Restoration —was formally appointed "Secretary-at-War to all the forces raised or to be raised in England and Wales." It should be noted in regard to the definition of this appointment that it was not until the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 that the military establishment of Scotland was merged in that of England, while Ireland had a separate military establishment until that other great Union of 1801.

Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, had been appointed Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief in 1660, his commission, a very voluminous document, conferring on him most comprehensive powers, being dated 3 August

of that year. But the "army" of which the former Parliamentarian General was given control was hardly an imposing one. A few months after the Restoration all that was left at home of the forces of Parliament was a body of troopers known as the "Lord General's Life-Guard of Horse," and Monk's old Coldstream Regiment, known as the "Lord General's Regiment of Foot." These were paraded on Tower Hill on 14 February, 1661, to the number of about 170 horse and between 900 and 1000 infantry. The two bodies were formally disbanded, and the men immediately re-enlisted, the mounted portion becoming the "Lord General's Troop of Guards," and the Coldstreamers the "Lord General's Regiment of Foot Guards." These, added to units constituted from remnants of the old Royalist forces, were the seed from which the modern British Army was raised. Incidentally, Fortescue thinks that it was chiefly because the existing Royalist "Guards" were not sufficient to keep order that the Coldstream were rescued from disbandment, and he dwells with insistence upon the fact that in these early days the Home Army was, in fact, a police force "hardly adequate to the duty of maintaining order, and wholly insufficient for the repulse of an invasion." The cavalry were used largely to assist in the suppression of smuggling, and the military had to be called in even to deal with a strong gang of poachers. The old-time services rendered by the Army in this last connexion might surely be borne in mind by modern landowners unwilling to allow their precious coverts to be approached by troops in the manœuvres for fear of disturbing the game.

Apart from the Home establishment there was, it is true, a small Colonial army made up of regiments (the 2nd Queen's, 4th King's Own, and Royal Dragoons) which were specially raised as a garrison for Tangier,

together with regular companies for service in Bombay, and, as a supplement to the local militia, in North America and the West Indies. These were under the control of the authorities at Whitehall, but were often literally forgotten, being left to fend for themselves without pay or clothing for years on end.

From 1660 until Monk's death in January 1670 the position of Secretary-at-War was simply that of Secretary to a Commander-in-Chief with practically absolute authority. The Duke of Albemarle could have done almost anything he liked with the Army—as a matter of fact he did very little—and Sir William Clarke, to use his master's own words, was a "faithful and indefatigable servant." When Monk, together with another "soldier and sailor, too," Prince Rupert, was given command of the fleet against the Dutch, Clarke accompanied him. It seems strange that in a record of the War Office it should be necessary to refer to that very doubtful naval action (3 June, 1666) of which Bishop Burnet wrote caustically, "The Court gave out that it was a victory: and public thanksgivings were ordered, which was a horrid mocking of God and a lying to the world." But on the flagship in command was the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and with him the Secretary-at-War. Monk escaped unscathed, save for a small bruise in the hand and the loss of his breeches, which were shot away, leaving the skin untouched. But the faithful and indefatigable Clarke lost his leg in the course of the two days' battle, and, after two days, during which Pepys tells us he showed great fortitude, died, a victim probably to the rough-and-ready surgical methods of the "cockpit."

Pepys makes several allusions to Clarke—he calls him Clerke—but they are neither very illuminating nor very appreciative. He mentions, for instance, Sir William Coventry's observation that Monk was

"the happiest [*i.e.* most fortunate] man in the world for doing great things by sorry instruments. And so particularized Clerke," and others. Pepys himself was fully convinced that Monk owed everything to "luck." "I know not how," he says plaintively, "the blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be loved, though he be, and every man must know it, the heaviest man in the world, but stout and honest to his country." No light tribute this, since it was not easy for a Commander-in-Chief at this period to be really loved, and there were none too many public men who were to the core patriotically stout and honest.

According to the "Dictionary of National Biography," Sir William Clarke's son, Dr George Clarke, was also Secretary-at-War from 1692 to 1704, but this is incorrect. George Clarke was Judge-Advocate-General towards the end of the seventeenth century, and occasionally signed documents as Secretary-at-War "in the absence of Mr. Blathwayt," but there is no record, the writer thinks, of any substantive appointment to the higher post.

On 10 October, 1665, Pepys had occasion to go to Monk's office for an order respecting a private matter in which he was interested. He mentions the visit in his Diary, and adds: "And so away giving Locke that drew the order a piece. Lord! to see how unhappily a man may fall into a necessity of bribing people to do him right in a thing wherein he hath done nothing but fair and bought dear." It seems only too probable that the recipient of Pepys's "piece" was Matthew Locke, who, less than a fortnight after the death of Sir William Clarke, was appointed—the commission bears date 20 June, 1666—Secretary-at-War to all the King's forces in England, Wales, and Berwick-on-Tweed. Locke was apparently a man of good family, his uncle being a Sir Paul Davys, who at one time held

a high official position in Ireland. Like his predecessor, he regarded himself as primarily secretary to Monk, and in that capacity his estate was evidently more gracious than it was after the death of his master, under whom he served in Ireland as well as at home. Between 1672 and 1674—the exact date is uncertain—we find Locke petitioning Arlington, then Secretary of State, for the latter's mediation with the King for an increased allowance, "he having served the Lord General, the Duke of Albemarle, as sole Secretary of the Forces, and having had the benefit of musters in his troop of Horse Guards, of which he has had no benefit for 3 years, and other benefits from the Duke's other offices and from his favour with his Majesty. Since his death 2 under clerks have been constantly kept because the military orders are entered at large. To them the King allowed only 2s. 6d. a day each for the last 9 months: therefore the increase of the Secretary's pay from 10s. to 20s. has not made that employment more profitable, and his business is exceedingly increased."

In passing it may be mentioned that in the seventeenth century the pay of a Secretary-at-War was a variable quantity. Sir William Clarke's salary, according to the "Establishment of the new-raised Forces," was only £91. 9s. per annum. Later it seems to have been raised to 10s. a day, and again, as appears from Locke's petition, to £1 a day, at which figure it stood in 1680, although there was a previous interval during which £2 a day was allowed. Towards the end of the century, however, as will be seen, there was a substantial improvement. In 1673 the value of the stationery used in the Secretary-at-War's Office was under £20.

In the War Office List both Locke and his successor are styled "Right Honourable," without, apparently, any authority in the former case. Both may have been Clerks not only to the War Committee but also to the

Privy Council—Blathwayt certainly was—but it is very questionable whether Locke was ever entitled to the prefix Right Hon. Indeed he appears to have been quite undistinguished, and to have been less in the public eye than his namesake, a well-known musician of the period. He held the Secretaryship-at-War until 1683, and then resigned in favour of—in other words sold the appointment to—William Blathwayt, of whom we shall hear more presently.

Meanwhile George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, had died in 1670. After he returned from his tour of sea service in 1666 he performed few public duties, and the Army, with the exception of the Guards, in which the King took a personal interest, was left largely to itself, in other words to the colonels of regiments, who until a much later period enjoyed a great measure of independence and authority. The routine work of headquarters administration continued to be done by the Secretary-at-War, but, in the absence of an active Commander-in-Chief, the term "Headquarters" had a very limited significance except as regards pay and supplies, neither of which matters as yet came into the War Secretary's province. Nor was the latter allowed, prior to 1676, to countersign military warrants and orders. If the Commander-in-Chief were not available, the signature of the Chief Secretary of State had to be obtained.

After Monk's death the office of Commander-in-Chief seems to have been for a time in abeyance. In the War Office List we find James, Duke of Monmouth, entered as having been made Commander-in-Chief in 1669, and Captain-General in 1679, but no authority appears to exist for the former statement. Had Monmouth been Commander-in-Chief in 1673, we should surely have seen him brought into some prominence in connexion with the expedition to the "Low Countreys," the command of which was entrusted to Prince Rupert,

with Frederic, Earl of Schomberg and Mertola, as his Captain-General. This, by the way, was the Schomberg who afterwards rose to be a Marshal in our service, and was killed at the Battle of the Boyne. He was the son of a German father by an English mother, and had fought with considerable distinction for France in Spain. Bishop Burnet says that his appointment in 1673 "to command the Army" was much resented, as it was thought that he had been sent over to bring our soldiers under French discipline. Neither in Burnet's "History" nor elsewhere has the present writer found any indication that Monmouth was ever regarded as Commander-in-Chief prior to 1676.

On 7 September, 1676, however, an important Royal Warrant was issued, from which it appears that a short time previously the chief command of the army had, at any rate nominally, passed to Monmouth. The Warrant commences, "As We have formerly given orders to the troops of our Horse Guard and to our established regiments of Horse and Foot to observe such orders as they shall from time to time receive from you, so now We commit to you" the care of arranging for reliefs and changes of quarters, with due authorization of procedure in such cases.

In conclusion the following significant departure from the practice in Monk's lifetime is indicated: "And considering that We continue to issue from Ourself some kinds of Warrants and military Orders which did belong to the Office of our late General, and which he was wont to dispatch and sign, We being desirous to distinguish such Warrants and Orders from other affairs of Our Crown passing Our signet and sign manual have thought fit, and it is Our will and pleasure, that all such kinds of Warrants and Orders as formerly issued from the Duke of Albemarle, and which We continue to issue, shall have Our sign manual only and shall be

countersigned by the Secretary to Our Forces as by Our Command."

Exactly when Monmouth was appointed Commander-in-Chief the writer has been unable to discover, but Colonel Clifford Walton, in an Appendix to his "History of our Standing Army," prints an order for a review signed by Monmouth, apparently as Commander-in-Chief, and dated 10 May, 1676. Taken in conjunction with the above-quoted Royal Warrant and the absence of other documentary evidence, it may be surmised that the appointment was made early in the year mentioned.

Monmouth's commission as Captain-General bears date April 1678—not 1679, as the War Office List has it. "A weak, pretty, affable libertine," he left no mark on the British army in respect either to its interior economy or its higher administration, and though his clemency after his defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, and his semi-royal progress through England in 1681, made him the idol of the populace, he does not appear to have obtained any sort of real grip upon the respect or affection of the soldiery. After his entanglement in the Rye House Plot in 1683, and his subsequent flight to the Low Countries, he ceased to be of any account from the military standpoint until his reappearance, in 1685, at the head of the insurrection which was brought abruptly to an end by the Battle of Sedgemor. Here a past and future Commander-in-Chief of the British army met, much to the disadvantage of the former. Monmouth had probably counted on being joined by Colonel John Churchill, his old friend and comrade-in-arms: but Churchill was shrewd enough—considerations of loyalty probably did not influence him much—to see that the insurrection had no chance of ultimate success, and it was chiefly owing to his skilful handling of the King's troops that Monmouth's

mixed crowd were utterly routed. Churchill himself did not, as will be seen, succeed to the Chiefship until some years later, the office remaining meanwhile in abeyance, and the head-quarters administration being carried on for the most part by Locke's successor, William Blathwayt, a man of very considerable ability and distinction.

Blathwayt's appointment as Secretary-at-War bears date 18 August, 1683, and he was at that time about thirty-four years of age. In his patent he is expressly enjoined, as were all the early Secretaries-at-War, to render obedience not only to the King but also to the King's General "according to the discipline of war." In Dalton's Commission Registers for 1684 there is a detail—reprinted from one given in Nathan Brook's "Army List" for that year—of "Other General Officers belonging to the Army," and fourth from the bottom of this list comes William Blathwayt, Secretary-at-War, followed by the Judge-Advocate (Sir William Clarke's son George), the Scoutmaster-General, and the Chirurgeon-General. It will thus be seen that Secretaries-at-War in those days were, even though civilians, regarded as having a distinct military status, and as being entirely amenable to military law. Further, it may be noted that they always ranked in the "Army Lists" below both the Paymaster-General and Commissary-General, to whose separate functions it will shortly be necessary to make passing reference.

Blathwayt evidently from the first made the most of his opportunities in the office which he is said to have acquired by simple purchase, and, in the absence of any Commander-in-Chief save the King, he rapidly rose to a position of great importance. In 1686 he became Clerk of the Privy Council, having been reappointed Secretary-at-War on the accession of James II. About the same time we hear of his being granted an additional

salary of 20s. *per diem* in consideration of the discontinuance of one of his perquisites, the fees upon pay Warrants, "and for his better support in his said office of Secretary-at-War." On 18 June, 1687, John Evelyn dined with Mr Blathwayt, and makes the following entry in his Diary. "This gentleman is Secretary of War, Clerk of the Council, &c., having raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, and very dexterous in business, and besides all this has married a great fortune. His income by the Army, Council, and Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Plantations brings him in above £2000 per annum."

It does not appear that Blathwayt took any part in the disgraceful act of treachery by which the army of James II was alienated—chiefly through the machinations of Marlborough—to the cause of William, Prince of Orange. We hear that in the fateful journey which James made, in November 1688, to Salisbury, in order to take command of his troops in person, he was attended by Blathwayt as Secretary-at-War. But the latter's loyalty could hardly have been of any perfervid sort, for on 13 April of the following year we find him duly reappointed to his post under William and Mary. Again, in 1690 we find him granted £1000 a year out of "stoppages from the pay of the Army," a strange proceeding according to modern ideas, but one which was severely regular compared with some of the eccentricities in regard to military pay which flourished in those days. Fortescue has drawn a lurid picture of these abuses, and shows very clearly that a soldier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could not have seen a penny of his pay in coin, and not a great deal of it in food and drink. The largest stoppage was the twenty-five per cent for the soldier's clothing, which was paid to the colonel of the regiment, very much to

the pecuniary benefit of that officer. But another five per cent was stopped from the pay of all ranks "towards the payment of the establishment [*i.e.* the administrative service] of the Army." It was from this stoppage that Blathwayt was granted his £1000 a year, presumably a consolidated salary, indicating an advance of almost £250 upon what he had previously been receiving.

Blathwayt must truly have been, as John Evelyn says, a most "dexterous" man of affairs, and it is on record that as Secretary-at-War he regulated for some years single-handed almost all the business connected with the Army. He became a great favourite with William III, owing to his knowledge of Continental languages, and attended his Royal master in the Flanders campaign. According to one account he acted during this last period as a Secretary of State, which, of course, if a fact, would justify the title of Right Hon. conferred on him in the War Office List. When Queen Anne came to the throne Blathwayt was once more appointed Secretary-at-War, and held the post until 1704. Subsequently he entered Parliament as Member for Bath. Eventually he retired to Dyrham in Gloucestershire, and died in 1710.

It was only natural in the circumstances that, constitutionally speaking, the War Office during the forty odd years which followed the Restoration should have been not only non-progressive but reactionary. During the Protectorate, as we saw in the last chapter, the head-quarters administration of the Army bore a certain resemblance to our latter-day system, in that it was in close touch with Parliament—as indeed it could hardly fail to be. With the Restoration, of course, that point of similarity vanished. The Secretary-at-War under Charles II, James II, and William III had no sort of connexion, even through his masters, with Parliament. He was, according to circumstances, the direct

subordinate of either the King or the Commander-in-Chief; and, as long as his office work was done satisfactorily, no one seemed to trouble much who he was or what he did. Certainly there is no hint of Parliamentary interference with, or even interest in, his duties during the tenures of Clarke, Locke, and Blathwayt.

On the other hand, in the period under review we see the Secretary-at-War rising gradually, and to some extent apart from the expansion of the Army itself, to a position of recognized and growing importance. John Rushworth and Sir William Clarke owed much of their advancement simply to their skill as shorthand writers. Locke was little more than a clerk. But his successor elevated his appointment very appreciably, and, when he relinquished it, it was given to a man who subsequently left a very clear mark upon our history. It is true that William Blathwayt had much in his favour, but probably the real secret of his success lay in the fact that in a small way he represented the Permanent Official—an individual who for good or ill has been intimately concerned in the development of the War Office, as in that of most if not all of our great departmental institutions.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

BEFORE proceeding to deal closely with a very remarkable, if not very edifying, epoch in War Office history, it is necessary to retrace our steps a little in order to preserve some sort of continuity in our record not only of Secretaries-at-War but also of Commanders-in-Chief. As a matter of fact the succession was particularly irregular at this period, long intervals occurring during which either the King himself acted as Commander-in-Chief, or the man who would have performed the duties of the office if he had been at home was on service abroad, and no one was appointed to officiate for him. Some of the results of the latter condition of affairs will be apparent presently. As regards the assumption of the chiefship by the Sovereign, this made of course little difference in the case of a monarch like James II, but in that of such a good soldier and straight, level-headed man as William III it would in less troubled times have been distinctly beneficial. As things were, little or no progress was made, and at the outset of the new reign the Army showed its dissatisfaction by the manifestation of a very mutinous spirit. In the following year, 1690, Marlborough was, according to the War Office List, appointed Commander-in-Chief, but it should be mentioned that this was only a temporary commission. It is dated 3 June, 1690, and appoints John, Earl of Marlborough, to be Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in London, Westminster,

and elsewhere in England, during the King's absence in Ireland.

As the King took with him the Secretary-at-War, Blathwayt, whenever he went on service, the acting Commander-in-Chiefship must not be taken very seriously, and the compiler of the War Office List is hardly justified in recording it as a substantive appointment.

In 1691 Meinhardt, second Duke of Schomberg, and afterwards Duke of Leinster, whose father, the Marshal, had been killed at the Battle of the Boyne in the previous year—young Schomberg had also commanded a considerable force in that memorable fight—appears to have been given a commission somewhat similar to that previously granted to Marlborough. But there is no indication that during the reign of William III anyone but the King was *de facto et de jure* Commander-in-Chief, except during one or two campaign periods when the Schombergs and Marlborough may have been "dress'd in a little brief authority." Yet the establishment prior to the reduction after the Peace of Ryswick was a considerable one—some 80,000 strong—which might well have enjoyed a better and more searching system of administration than that which the much preoccupied Sovereign was able to apply to it.

With the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 a new régime was at once established. Marlborough, who had been deprived of his offices in January 1692 for treacherous correspondence with the ex-King James, but had subsequently to some extent regained William's favour, though not his confidence, became forthwith the greatest man in the kingdom. As Dr Bright says in his "English History," it is scarcely too much to call the earlier part of Queen Anne's reign the reign of the Duke of Marlborough, and it is a curious and interesting circumstance that, notwithstanding his unquestioned ascendancy, this great soldier should have been the

first Commander-in-Chief to allow the administration of the Army, not only to be subordinated to political party aims, but to pass almost completely into the hands of successive civilian Secretaries-at-War.

At first Marlborough did exert himself to some purpose for the benefit of the Army, of which he was appointed Captain-General on 15 March, 1702, receiving three months later an additional commission as Master-General of the Ordnance. But before any useful progress could be made it was practically essential that there should be a scandal of some sort, and one was duly forthcoming, the story of which is very vividly told in Fortescue's monumental "History of the British Army." On 11 November, 1702, the Committee of Public Accounts presented to Parliament a very damaging report on the books of the Paymaster-General, Lord Ranelagh. Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, was the fourth holder of the post of Paymaster-General since the formation of the modern British Army in 1660, his predecessors being Sir Stephen Fox, Nicholas Johnson, and Charles Fox, and his own appointment having been made in 1689. Originally the Paymaster-General was a sort of contractor who engaged to find money wherewith to pay the troops more or less continuously, recouping himself at intervals by a stoppage from the Parliamentary grants when they became available. It was a very lucrative business, and apparently a good many irregularities were winked at, for it is known that several Paymasters-General made handsome fortunes. But Ranelagh was either in too great a hurry to get rich, or too extravagant, or too offhand in his dealings with the Committee of Public Accounts, or a little of all three, and the report against him was a very strong one. He defended himself briskly, inculpating incidentally the Secretary-at-War, Mr Blathwayt; but the House of Commons would not

listen to him or proceed against Blathwayt, and with very little delay voted Ranelagh guilty of misappropriation of public funds.

Nothing much to the point, however, was done for almost two years, when Ranelagh was finally expelled from his office and his department reorganized, two Paymasters-General being appointed, one for home, the other for abroad, together with two Controllers of Army Accounts. Simultaneously Blathwayt seems to have been given a hint to resign the Secretaryship-at-War, and his office, too, was entirely altered in character. Henceforth the Secretary-at-War was no longer Secretary to a Royal or other Commander-in-Chief, but the civil head of the War Department, and a more or less professional politician.

The first Secretary-at-War under this new dispensation was Henry St. John, afterwards the famous Lord Bolingbroke. He was originally appointed on 20 April, 1704, but may have resigned or have been removed temporarily, for in Dalton's "Army Lists" there is a note of another commission as Secretary-at-War granted to St. John, this time he is called Harry—and dated 28 June, 1707. St. John probably owed his first introduction to the War Office to Marlborough, with whom he was a very great favourite; but he also had another powerful friend in Harley, who had just succeeded the Earl of Nottingham as Prime Minister. But the essential thing about the appointment was the fact that it was a political one. St. John was, of course, a strong partisan, and sat in the 1705 Parliament for Wootton Bassett in Wiltshire, the first of a long line of M.P.s who have combined the representation of a constituency with a more or less successful attempt to manage the business of the British Army.

Under Marlborough's direction St. John was concerned in one very important reform connected with

the clothing of the troops, in regard to which sundry serious abuses had grown up. In the preceding chapter reference was made to the twenty-five per cent stoppage from the pay of the Army on account of clothing, the money being handed over to colonels of regiments, who were permitted to spend it pretty much as they pleased. Irregularities followed as a matter of course, and during the reign of William III the constant recurrence of warfare prevented any close investigation of the subject. In 1706, however, Marlborough desired St. John, in co-operation with General Charles Churchill, to make the necessary inquiries, and eventually some important changes were made. The clothing of the troops still remained in the hands of the colonels of regiments, but the latter were made subject to the control, as regards patterns and so forth, of a Board of six General Officers, an institution which for a great many years continued to form an integral portion of the head-quarters administrative staff.

In 1708 St. John retired for a time into more or less private life, and his place as Secretary-at-War was taken by the great Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, who later made perhaps a freer and more cynical use of bribery in one shape or another than any statesman in our history. He, of course, only regarded the War Secretaryship as a stepping-stone, and left it the following year, becoming, in 1710, Treasurer of the Navy. As in January 1712 he was expelled from the House of Commons after having been found guilty of "breach of trust and notorious corruption"—a queer prelude to his Chancellorship of the Exchequer in 1715—it is not likely that his administration of the War Office was particularly clean or high-minded.

According to the War Office List, Mr Francis Gwyn became Secretary-at-War in 1709—the first of two tenures; but the writer has not succeeded in tracing

the earlier commission, and the "Dictionary of National Biography" makes no mention of it in its account of Gwyn. The latter was a professional politician of no great importance. This description applies also to his successor, George Granville, who enjoys, however, the distinction of being quoted as a versifier by Horace Walpole. Granville became Secretary-at-War on 28 September, 1710, and was succeeded in 1712 by Sir William Wyndham who only held the office for a few months and was shortly afterwards made Chancellor of the Exchequer. On 21 August, 1713, we find Gwyn's commission duly entered in Dalton's "Army Lists."

Meanwhile things had not been going smoothly with the Commander-in-Chief, for whom the years 1708-9 had been anything but fortunate as regards the maintenance of his ascendancy. Much of the loss of the latter was undoubtedly due to the violent behaviour towards the Queen of the Duchess of Marlborough, whose anger at being supplanted in the Royal favour by Mrs Masham had produced some very uncourtly outbursts. The Queen's displeasure reacted upon Marlborough, who asked in vain about this time to be appointed Captain-General for life. Further, Anne gave the Lieutenancy of the Tower to Lord Rivers, without waiting as usual for the Commander-in-Chief's recommendation, and offered a vacant regiment to Mrs Masham's brother, Colonel Hill. Against this last appointment Marlborough protested warmly, on the ground that it would weaken his influence with the army. But there was worse to follow. In 1711 Sir Solomon Medina, who had contracted to supply the army in Flanders with bread, deposed that he had paid Marlborough over £60,000 by way of commission, and it was further alleged that the Commander-in-Chief had pocketed £177,000 as percentage on subsidies to

foreign troops. The "bread-money" appears to have been a customary perquisite of every Commander-in-Chief in Flanders, and is said to have been expended chiefly in what we should now call "Intelligence" operations. Marlborough, too, had obtained the Royal Warrant for accepting the percentage on the subsidies from the foreign princes to whom they were paid. But these excuses were not listened to. The Ministry, with Harley and St. John at its head, stripped Marlborough of all his offices, and on 1 January, 1712, James, Duke of Ormond, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain, as well of all the British forces in the Netherlands. On the 26th of the following month Ormond was made Captain-General of all the British forces at home or abroad. He had risen to considerable popularity as a commander since the days when, as Earl of Ossory, he had fought against Monmouth, and later had led William III's Life Guards at the Battle of the Boyne. But he was a strong Jacobite, and when George I came to the throne he fell to intriguing, and in 1715 fled the country and retired to France. The War Office List says he "ceased to hold the office in 1719," a rather foolish statement in view of the well-known historical fact that he was attainted of high treason and all his English honours forfeited four years previously.

For the purposes of this record it is sufficient to say that from 1715 to 1744 there occurs a hiatus in the list of Commanders-in-Chief at home. In 1744 that good soldier, John, Earl of Stair, was made Commander-in-Chief, but during his tenure Marshal Wade, the famous military road-maker, and the "Butcher" Duke of Cumberland, also held Commander-in-Chief's commissions at home, the latter being subsequently given the rank of Captain-General.

We may now revert to our succession of Secretaries-

at-War. Gwyn was succeeded in 1714 by William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, whose chief title to distinction as a military administrator rests in his open repudiation of any real responsibility for his department. He was succeeded in 1717 by James Craggs, Junior, usually known, and referred to by Horace Walpole as "Young Craggs," to distinguish him from his father, who was a very remarkable product of the times. Originally either a country barber or a footman, it is uncertain which—Old Craggs became attached to the household of the Duchess of Marlborough, went into business as a contractor, entered Parliament, and left a large fortune. Young Craggs travelled on the Continent, and was for a time Resident at the Spanish Court. Returning home, he became M.P. for Tregony. He was an intimate friend of both Pope and Addison, and a very popular young fellow generally. At times he found his post as Secretary-at-War somewhat trying by reason of the frequent brawls between soldiers and civilians, and Fortescue quotes him as saying plaintively: "If I take no notice of such things I shall be petitioned against by twenty or thirty towns; if I inquire into them the officers think themselves discouraged; if I neglect them I shall be speeched every day in the House of Commons; if I give countenance to them I shall disoblige the officers." Craggs was not long at the War Office, and rose later to be a Principal Secretary of State. He was rather badly mixed up in the South Sea Company, and his popularity suffered accordingly. He died of smallpox in his thirty-fifth year, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1719 Craggs was succeeded by Robert Pringle, who was a younger son of Sir Robert Pringle, first baronet. Pringle had, like a good many contemporary young Englishmen, studied at Leyden, subsequently taking service under William, Prince of Orange, with whom he

came over to England. He seems to have only been Secretary-at-War for seven months, being succeeded at the end of 1719 by George Treby, M.P. for Plympton in Devonshire, where his father, Sir George Treby, was a person of consequence. In 1724 Henry Pelham, afterwards Prime Minister, succeeded Treby, and in 1730 the Secretary-at-War was Sir William Strickland, fourth baronet, and some time a Lord of the Treasury. From 1735 to 1746 the amiable and accomplished, but not at all high-principled Sir William Yonge held the Secretaryship-at-War against all comers, and resolutely declined to budge from it. "A man," remarked Lord Chesterfield, "who has by a fitness of tongue raised himself to the best appointments in the kingdom, and all this with a most sullied, not to say blasted character." The long and somewhat tedious succession of War Secretaries may temporarily be brought to a close by a passing reference to Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland (1746), and William, second Viscount Barrington (1755), to both of whom Horace Walpole makes frequent friendly references.

Before we leave this section of our record it is necessary to dwell with some emphasis not only on the characteristic features of the period under review, but also on the very strong light in which those features have been exhibited by at least one modern writer of particular repute. At the commencement of this chapter we saw a singular change taking place both in the position of the Secretary-at-War and in the relation of the Army with politics, more especially party politics. In touching lightly upon the presonalities of successive Secretaries-at-War from Henry St. John to Lord Barrington, the writer has barely alluded to the real significance of the altered state of affairs, but the mere sequence of names shows how completely the head-quarters administration of the Army was becoming, as Fortescue

says, "the spoil of political party" and how definitely the Army was now "stamped as a counter in the eternal game of faction." Of the actual rise to something approaching autocracy of the Secretary-at-War numerous examples are given by the historian just quoted, a very striking one being the "Secretary-at-War's leave," which was granted by that official direct to officers, and entirely overrode any ideas the colonel of the regiment might entertain on the subject. To such an extent had the Secretary-at-War asserted himself, assisted by the continual absence of any Commander-in-Chief, that about 1718 we have the Duke of Argyll saying in the House of Lords, "Our armies here know no other power but that of the Secretary-at-War, who directs all their motions and fills up all vacancies without opposition and without appeal."

In the House of Commons the Secretary-at-War quite naturally took charge of all military matters and "spoke for the Army," just as the Secretary of State for War or his Under-Secretary do to-day, but with this exception, that he refused to be saddled with any but quite minor responsibilities. At a later date definite responsibility was forced upon him, but in the period under review he had all the powers of a Secretary of State with little or no real liability. Any interest he may have had in the Army was seldom given much chance of revealing itself, for Ministries followed one another in rapid succession, and almost invariably the Secretary-at-War followed his party. Sir William Yonge, as we have seen, stuck like a limpet to the War Office rock for more than a decade, but in the eleven years that followed the retirement of St. John there were nine Secretaries-at-War, and one of these is credited with a second tenure of the office. In such circumstances it was hopeless to attempt any serious reform. All that the average politician who secured the post

could reasonably be expected to do was to sign his name when necessary, oblige as many of his friends as possible, and draw his pay. It was probably in connexion with the second of these functions that the power of the Secretary-at-War grew as rapidly as it did, one piece of daring jobbery leading to another, and precedents accumulating for an exercise of authority which was often quite fantastic.

Fortescue speaks bitterly of this beginning of "civilian interference" with the affairs of the Army, and, of course, there is no getting away from the fact that the head-quarters administration at this period was utterly rotten and iniquitous, and no sense in trying to argue that the Army has not at times, one may say frequently, had ample cause to regret civilian intrusion into its business. But there is another side to the question, which in the interests of historical truth we ought to examine with some closeness. First, we should, in common fairness, ask ourselves whose fault it was that, in the opening years of the eighteenth century, the War Department passed under civilian control. To this question "Marlborough's" is the only possible answer. The plea that that superb soldier was too busily engaged in fighting to take due heed of the rock on which the ship of Army administration was drifting will naturally be put forward, but is it a valid one? For the first few years of Anne's reign, as has already been remarked, Marlborough was virtually supreme, and he could easily have prevented the appointment, in the first instance, of a mere politician to the War Secretaryship. Later, when he saw how things were trending, he could still more easily have asserted himself to the extent of reducing the powers of the Secretary-at-War to a dead level of harmless ostentation. But he allowed the thick end of the wedge to follow the thin, protesting when the Queen herself ventured to take Army patronage

into her own hands without consulting him, but acquiescing in the much more arrogant assumption of military authority by Harley's and Godolphin's underlings.

Secondly, we have to face the query, "Would exclusively military administration at Army head-quarters have been at this period a satisfactory alternative to 'civilian interference'?" It is seriously doubtful whether it would. There is very little reason for suggesting that soldiers in the time of Queen Anne and George I were any more high-minded in their attitude towards Army matters than civilians were. It is all very well to talk of the Secretary-at-War's Office as a "Paradise of jobbery," and to gibbet Paymaster-Generals for their easy views on military finance. But on all sides there were officers keen on profiting by the jobbery, and the system under which the colonel of a regiment battened on what should have been spent on his men's backs or stomachs was not a bit less reprehensible than the "stoppage" by which political Paymasters-General rose swiftly to great riches.

The writer assuredly holds no brief for civilian administration of the Army. But he thinks that in any case it is necessary to deal with such a state of things as that under review with particular impartiality, owing to the ease with which prejudice can be imported into the discussion. As a matter of historical fact it would not be difficult to quote a good many cases in which the Army has probably profited a good deal more by "civilian interference" than it would have done under a purely military dispensation. It is also painfully true that, with soldiers in practically supreme administrative authority, jobbery, and other evils have at times been quite as rife as ever they were in the palmy days of eighteenth-century civilian Secretaries-at-War. It is all a question of the times, the men, and the opportunities. The fat kine have eaten up the lean kine,

axes have been ground, the backstairs have been trodden, and petticoat and other influences have worked insidiously in the background to much the same extent, it is to be feared, whether civilians or soldiers sat in the seats of the mighty; and, while under not only Marlborough but even Wellington the Army sank into a state of ignominious desuetude, names like Cardwell and Sidney Herbert will always be remembered in the Service with very real gratitude and respect.

CHAPTER IV

THE HORSE GUARDS

THIS is a convenient juncture at which to interpolate a short account of the early arrangements for housing the War Office, arrangements which began to take concrete shape a little before the date at which the last chapter closed. In the first stages of its history the War Department, such as it was, had, of course, no particular local habitation other than the office of the Privy Council, of which it was an offshoot. During the Civil War, again, the "office" of the Secretary-at-War was often in the tented field. But after the Restoration, at any rate, and for some time previously, all military orders and warrants were sent out from Whitehall, and it is to two particular localities in Whitehall, the Cockpit and the Tiltyard, that we must turn our attention if we wish to realize the environment of the present Secretary of State for War's predecessors in the later Stuart and early Hanoverian times.

There are various letters from Sir William Clarke, Secretary-at-War after the Restoration, dated from "the Cockpit at Whitehall," and there are frequent mentions of this spot in Pepys's Diary. Under date 28 March, 1666, Pepys says that he "walked with Sir W. Clerke into St. James Parke," and later proceeded "thence to the Cockpitt and dined with a great deal of company at the Duke of Albemarle's." He adds, by the way, that it was "a bad and dirty, nasty dinner," due, no doubt, to the notoriously "vile good house-

wifery" of the Duchess. Monk's apartments in the Cockpit had been specially granted to him by Charles II, and according to one account he died there, but this is a mistake. As a matter of fact he appears to have given up living in Whitehall about 1667, when he purchased the residence afterwards known as Albemarle House, which gave its name to Albemarle Street, and the site of which is occupied at the time of writing by the Junior Conservative Club. He had also a country residence, New Hall, near Chelmsford, and it was there that he died in January 1670.

Reverting to the Cockpit, this was no fancy name. As a matter of fact there were two genuine Cockpits in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, but this was the more important one, and Henry VIII probably witnessed a good deal of "sport" here. But gradually it ceased to be used for cock-fighting purposes, and, doubtless because of its charming situation, overlooking the beautiful St. James's Park, it was converted into a dwelling-place, which appears always to have been greatly in demand. Oliver Cromwell himself took up his residence there, and at the Restoration, as we have seen, the apartments fell to the greatest man in the kingdom, the Lord-General.

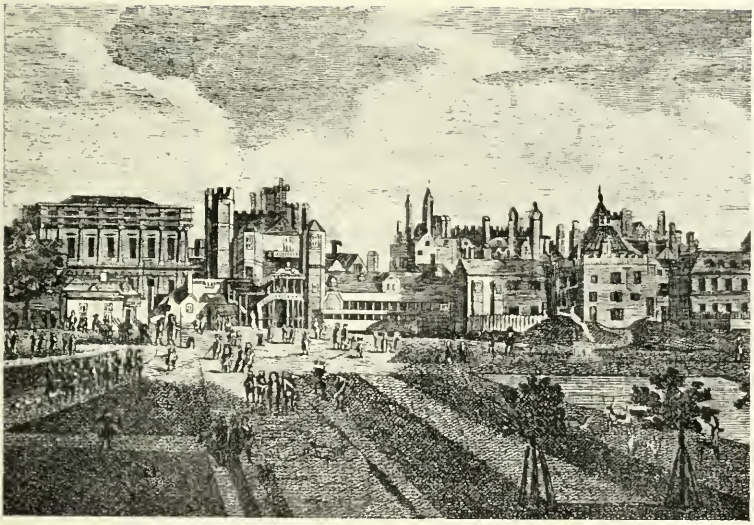
Pennant, in his "Account of London" (1790), gives a sketch of the buildings overlooking St. James's Park as they must have appeared in 1660–70. In the background is the Banqueting House—now occupied by the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution—the Holbein Gate, the old Treasury, and, adjoining the latter, the top of the Cockpit. In the foreground King Charles is seen taking the air with his favourite dogs and attendant courtiers.

The immediate neighbourhood of the Cockpit was probably a good deal less bare at that time than the parade-ground at the back of the present Horse Guards.

For it was all part of the "beautiful garden of St. James's" to which M. Jorevin, who visited England in the reign of Charles II, and was much impressed by the splendour of the King's palace of "Withal," makes glowing allusion. "It includes a park filled with all sorts of deer" and "a mall above 1000 paces long, bordered on one side by a great canal on which are to be seen waterfowl of all sorts, and an aviary near it." Jorevin mentions that "the 'palace' of General Monk, who is the King's favourite, looks into this great garden." Many a War Office and Admiralty official of a much later day has enjoyed the amenities of St. James's Park, and taken pleasure, too, in the "waterfowl of all sorts" still to be found on the lake. But they are denied the sight of the deer which Sir William Clarke, Secretary-at-War, then about forty-three, walking in company with the pushful Pepys, some ten years younger, and Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, may have viewed at close quarters that March morning in 1666.

The Cockpit may have ceased to be the fountain-head of military orders and warrants even before the death of Monk, and certainly did not remain such long after 1670. In 1697, after the great fire in Whitehall, it was converted into offices for the Privy Council, and part of the site is now occupied by the Treasury. As late as 1780 the Minutes of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury were being dated from "the Cockpit at Whitehall," which thus may be said to have been closely related to three of the greatest institutions of the country, the Privy Council, the Treasury, and the War Office.

We must now direct our attention to another relic of Tudor times, namely, the Tiltyard, on part of the site of which the building still known as the Horse Guards was built in the middle of the eighteenth century. Stow's "Survey of the Cities of London and West-



THE TILTYARD

ON THE SITE OF WHICH THE HORSE GUARDS WAS BUILT

THE HORSE GUARDS

FROM AN EARLY PRINT MADE BEFORE THE DOME WAS ADDED

minster" makes particular mention of this institution. "South from Charing Cross on the right hand are divers fair houses lately builded before the Park: then a large Tilt-Yard for Noblemen and others to exercise themselves in Justing, Turneying, and fighting at the Barriers."

The Tiltyard is elsewhere described as standing a little to the south of the Horse-Guard Yard, "adjoining the north gate of King Street." It appears to have had an outdoor staircase leading presumably from what served as the Royal Box down into an enclosure from which there was a gate into St. James's Park. It does not require a very lively imagination to produce a mental picture of what must have been a frequent spectacle in Tudor times, the arena of the Tiltyard itself occupied by combatants of high rank, perhaps, and shining reputation for skill-at-arms, anxious to maintain the prestige of exercises which the advent of the "fiery weapons," the musket, the caliver, and the pistol, was beginning to thrust into the background; the galleries crowded with richly dressed spectators, the Sovereign and the inner Court circles a glittering "cynosure of neighbr'ing eyes"; the combat, the triumph and defeat, the applause for the victor, the doubtful sympathy for the unfortunate loser rolled very possibly into the mud; and at the close of the spectacle the Royal party streaming down the stairway into the pleasant park.

Pennant, however, one regrets to note, is not stirred by any such pleasant fancies. He writes, indeed, very caustically and discourteously of Queen Elizabeth's fondness for the Tiltyard, where "in her sixty-sixth year, with wrinkled face, red perriwig, little eyes, hooked nose, skinny lips, and black teeth, she could suck in the gross flatteries of her favoured courtiers." On New Year's Day, 1581, in honour of the Commissioners who had come over from France "to propose the marriage,"

the "most sumptuous Tournament ever celebrated" was held in the Tiltyard. From time to time many a "veray parfit gentil knyghte," such as Sir Philip Sydney and Sir Henry Lee, displayed their prowess here But the place was also used for less worthy purposes, for we read that on one ceremonial occasion Elizabeth "commanded the bears, the bull, and the ape to be baited in the Tiltyard." Cock-fighting, then, was not the only barbarous, old-time recreation with which the early homes of our military administrative system were associated.

But long before the Restoration "Justing and Turneying" had had their day, and during the Commonwealth period we may rest assured that there was no bull- and bear-baiting in the Tiltyard, which at this period must indeed have presented a somewhat forlorn appearance. At the Restoration, however, a new use was soon made of the place. Quarters near the Royal residence had to be found for the mounted troops retained as the King's Guard under the new establishment, and, accordingly, barracks and stables were built in the Tiltyard, which was henceforth known as the "Horse Guards, Whitehall."

When the Secretary-at-War ceased to be primarily Secretary to the Lord-General he became for a time, as we have seen, a sort of military secretary to the King, and it was necessary for the proper performance of his duties in that capacity that he should have his office within easy reach of the Royal apartments. Accordingly room was made for him in the new buildings in the Tiltyard. The writer has not been able to discover exactly when the transfer from the Cockpit took place, but Colonel Clifford Walton, whose researches are distinguished by the most scrupulous accuracy, has placed it on record that at any rate in 1684 the offices of the Secretary-at-War, like those of the Paymaster-General

and Commissary-General, were "kept at the Horse Guard in Whitehall."

This state of things continued throughout the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, Anne, and the first two Georges, but naturally the atmosphere of the War Office must have changed in accordance with the altered status of the Secretary-at-War, to which attention was drawn in the preceding chapter. In the time of Charles II Whitehall was something more than the royal residence. It was the centre of political interest, the more so as the King lived a very open life, if not a particularly reputable one, and the galleries of Whitehall were always full of eager eyes, keen to note, even from the manner in which the King spoke to this subordinate or that, how the wind was blowing in regard to some home or foreign affair of contemporary importance. In such conditions the position of the Secretary-at-War as, after the death of Monk, a personal assistant to the King—sometimes closely in his confidence—must have invested his office in the minds of the Court, which was then the focus of contemporary thought and ambition, with special significance. But as time went on, and Marlborough as Commander-in-Chief began to mix freely in politics, and the Secretary-at-War came in and went out with the Government, we may take it that the War Office itself lost some of the glamour which it had in later Stuart times, and became in a sense more businesslike, as befitting what was now a recognized department. Probably the Secretary-at-War himself did not contribute largely to this new aspect. No doubt he looked in almost daily at the Horse Guards, and signed what it was necessary to sign, but he was primarily a politician, and as such his chief interests were "in another place."

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century it must

have become clear that the arrangements made for the housing of the Horse Guards, and for the accommodation of the Secretary-at-War's and other offices, were no longer adequate. Accordingly the old Troop Stables and other buildings in the Tiltyard were pulled down, and in due course of time the present "Horse Guards" was erected, a structure which enjoys the distinction of being one of the very ugliest edifices devoted to His Majesty's Service. It was built by Vardy, after the designs of an individual named Kent, who was both an architect and a landscape gardener, and certainly did not shine in the former capacity. The mason work is said to be good, but the design is frankly hideous, and it was still more dreadful before the dome and steeple were added. The writer is pleased to be able to reproduce a print in his possession which appeared in the "Universal Magazine" shortly after the "new" Horse Guards was completed. It will be seen that the building has two wings. On the ground-floor of these the two troops of the Royal Horse Guards Blue were accommodated. The "Perspective View," as it is called, shows, of course, what is now the back of the Horse Guards, looking out on St. James's Park. Of the archway leading into Whitehall even an indulgent critic such as Northouck, who wrote a "History of London" in 1773, says "but this arch, as it is the passage of his Majesty to and from the House of Peers, should have been more lofty and noble."

Stocqueler, whose "Personal History of the Horse-Guards" appeared just a century later than the book last quoted, remarks rather quaintly that at that time "British architects apparently took their tone from the form and stature of the Hanoverian family. Neither George I nor George II was cast in the mould on which 'every god had set his seal to give the world assurance of a man.' They were rather dumpy and stumpy than

the reverse, and it was a delicate compliment on the part of the architects and builders to lay on the enduring earth heavy loads of masonry, whose outline and elevation should correspond with the bulk and height of the Monarchs."

It is uncertain when the Horse Guards building was commenced, but it was completed in time to allow George II to pass under the archway in 1751. The dome and steeple appear to have been added eight or nine years later. Stocqueler mentions that "within the concave there appears carved in oak beneath the Royal crown and monogram the date 1759."

It is certainly curious that at the time when the Horse Guards came definitely to be used as the head-quarters of our military system the British Army should have had an established strength of only 18,800 men. Of course a much greater strength had on and off been maintained for service in Flanders and elsewhere; but the numbers had been dwindling, recruits were not easy to get, and, in order to cope with the Jacobite insurrection of 1745, troops had to be hastily recalled from the Continent, where recently they had greatly distinguished themselves under "dapper George" at Dettingen in 1742, a modicum being left to suffer defeat, but certainly with no dishonour attached to it, at Fontenoy, in 1745. When in 1752, at which time the Duke of Cumberland was Captain-General, a vote was asked for in Parliament on account of army services, a lively discussion ensued as to whether any army at all was now necessary. Objection was taken to the retention of a Captain-General; other general officers were held to be superfluous; and one Hon. Member —Beckford, the father of the author of "Vathek"— thought we could always, if necessary, get mercenaries from abroad to supply our military needs if the existing attenuated army were disbanded. Happily there

was a residuum of sound sense in the Commons, and the vote for an establishment of 18,800 was duly passed.

It appears that not for some years after the erection of the new Horse Guards building were any orders issued thence by the Commander-in-Chief. Even when Lord Ligonier was appointed to that office in 1757 he dated his orders from Knightsbridge Barracks. But that more potent functionary, the Secretary-at-War, sent out all his communications from the Horse Guards, the actual holder of the office in 1746–55 being, as noted in the preceding chapter, Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, and a friend and protégé, by the way, of the Duke of Cumberland. At the new Horse Guards Henry Fox must frequently have come in contact with William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, who was Paymaster-General from 1746 to 1754. Fox and Pitt quarrelled rather seriously at one time, but, when Pitt's Ministry was formed in 1757, Fox was induced to give it countenance, and he in turn became Paymaster-General. In passing it may be noted that about this time there were no fewer than four prominent politicians who served both as Secretary-at-War and Paymaster-General, namely, Robert Walpole, Henry Pelham, Henry Fox, and Charles Townshend. The building, then, of the new Horse Guards did little or nothing towards modifying the density of the political atmosphere with which our head-quarters military administration came to be enveloped at the commencement of the eighteenth century. At the same time it was a step in advance, as it brought the Army, small as it was, more prominently and more constantly before the eyes of the metropolitan public, and surrounded the War Department with a certain dignity which it had heretofore entirely lacked.

To some extent the retention of Kent's ugly old edifice plays a similarly useful part to-day. As the

head-quarters of the London District it is officially overshadowed by the fine new War Office on the opposite side of Whitehall. But "The Horse Guards" has a sentimental significance of its own, and the mounting there of the Household Cavalry Guard, and the presence of the two cuirassed sentries, are "sights" which most country cousins and many foreigners make a conscientious point of "doing" on their first visit to the capital.

CHAPTER V

CIVILIAN ASCENDANCY

SOMEWHAT reluctantly one returns to the procession of political Secretaries-at-War, but in the case of the latter half of the eighteenth century a little relief is afforded by the presence of one or two outstanding figures, by evidences of a certain amount of real progress, and by the introduction, at the close of the period, of a new administrative system. Taken as a whole the epoch in its relation to the War Office is, if not a very important, at least an interesting one, and to it must be referred at any rate the inception of several movements which later produced significant reforms. It lacked the pervading influence of a Marlborough, but it provided an additional outlet for the genius of Pitt, and it led up gradually to an interval during which a Royal Commander-in-Chief, in spite of some scandalous aberrations, contrived to do a great deal that was both good and lasting for the British soldier and the Army generally.

The last Secretary-at-War mentioned in chapter iii. was William, Lord Barrington, who retained the office until 1761, and, as we shall see later, resumed it in 1765. In 1761 Charles Townshend, the second son of the third viscount, quite one of the cleverest and most prominent politicians of the day, and subsequently Chancellor of the Exchequer, became Secretary-at-War. He occupies a niche in history as one who, though he did not live to see the bitter fruit of his endeavours, was largely instrumental in bringing about the cleavage with the American Colonies.

He does not appear to have devoted himself with any marked assiduity to his work at the Horse Guards, but it is said of him that as Secretary-at-War he "took an active part in the conduct of Government business in the House of Commons," a neat phrase which aptly characterizes the status of the office at this period. An extremely brilliant man, Charles Townshend drew from Burke one of the most tremendous panegyrics ever penned, but Walpole probably got nearer to the truth when he observed that Townshend had "almost every great talent and every little quality."

In December 1762—not in 1763, as the War Office List has it—Townshend was succeeded as Secretary-at-War by Welbore Ellis, afterwards first Baron Mendip. Neither his contemporaries nor posterity have anything very complimentary to say of Ellis, who eventually resigned in 1765 on the formation of the Rockingham Ministry. Horace Walpole spoke of him as "Fox's jackal," Junius alluded to him scornfully as "little mannikin Ellis," and Macaulay describes him as "an ancient placeman who had been drawing salary almost every quarter since the days of Henry Pelham."

In 1765 William, Lord Barrington, commenced his second term of office, which lasted until 1778, and so covered three years of the fateful war in America. In spite of this protracted tenure, the longest enjoyed by any holder of the office since the days of Blathwayt, the limpet Yonge not excepted, Barrington left very little mark upon the War Secretariat. Indeed it may be said that he is chiefly remarkable by reason of being the objective of "Three Letters to the Right Hon. William Barrington," written in 1778 by Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. of Cranstoun, who roundly accused him of having, among various misdeeds, crippled and starved the British army, and sent out under it the untrained mercenaries of the Continent.

Charles Jenkinson, afterwards first Earl of Liverpool, whose father fought at Dettingen as Colonel of the Blues, succeeded Barrington as Secretary-at-War under Lord North. The year was a momentous one, including as it did the death of the great Earl of Chatham and the rejection by America of the British offers of conciliation. But Jenkinson, like Barrington, has left no enduring trace of any but average performance of not very serious duties. His chief achievement was to carry the Army Estimates through the House of Commons at the close of the American War in 1782. As a politician and office man he was both hated and feared, because he was supposed to possess immense secret influence with George III through Lord North, but it is only fair to add that both he and his superior officer warmly denied the "soft impeachment."

In 1782 there was a period of four months during which Thomas Townshend, grandson of the second Viscount, and himself afterwards first Viscount Sydney, was Secretary-at-War in Rockingham's second Administration. Thomas Townshend had been Joint-Paymaster of the Forces in 1767, and might conceivably, although a man of quite mediocre ability, have made a useful War Secretary, as he was quite independent of the salary of the post, had a great deal of parliamentary interest, and was a fluent speaker. But, four months after the Ministry was formed, Rockingham died, and the Whigs were split up into two sections under Fox and Shelburne. Townshend threw in his lot with the latter, and resigned the War Office to become Home Secretary. He was succeeded at the Horse Guards by Sir George Yonge, the only surviving son of the Sir William Yonge who was Secretary-at-War from 1735 to 1746. Sir George, of whom we shall speak again presently, remained in office this time only from July 1782 to April 1783, when Lord Shelburne resigned and

a coalition Ministry with both Fox and North in it—including also Edmund Burke, who had been Paymaster-General the year before—was formed under Portland. Into this Administration that somewhat remarkable individual, Colonel, afterwards General, Richard Fitzpatrick, was brought as Secretary-at-War by favour of Fox, whose intimate friend he was even to the extent of being, to use Fox's own testamentary words, "excessively loved" by him.

Fitzpatrick was a queer and not altogether happy mixture of the soldier, politician, and man about town. As a young Guardsman—he joined the First Foot Guards, now the Grenadier Guards, as ensign, in 1765, becoming lieutenant and captain, after the fashion of the Guards up to a late period, in 1772—he shared lodgings in Piccadilly with Fox, and vied with the latter in his love of gambling, classical scholarship, and good company. Fitzpatrick himself became a noted wit, and was one of the principal authors of the "Rolliad." The Duke of Queensberry admired his fine manners and courtly address so much that he left him a useful legacy "on that account alone."

It would have been difficult to remain the intimate friend of Charles James Fox and not to have been drawn into the vortex of politics. Accordingly Fitzpatrick entered Parliament as Member, first for Okehampton and afterwards for Tavistock. He was strongly opposed to the American War, but, when his turn came to go out with a relief of his regiment, he declined to allow himself to be passed over, a proceeding which in those days would probably have not been considered at all very unusual, and went to the front with alacrity, serving with credit at Westfield, Brandywine, the capture of Philadelphia, and the battle of Germantown. Returning to England in May 1778, he found that in the preceding January he had been promoted captain and

lieutenant-colonel, and four years later he attained his full colonelcy. In April 1783, at Fox's solicitation, he entered the Coalition Ministry, already referred to as being headed by the Duke of Portland, in the capacity of Secretary-at-War. One would have imagined that a comparatively experienced soldier would have proceeded to make his mark in circumstances so favourable, and with the assurance of such powerful support as that of Fox. But Fitzpatrick was apparently far more anxious to maintain his reputation as a "man of fashion" than he was to make a new one as a military administrator, and, accordingly, neither this nor his later tenure of the War Secretaryship was in any way distinguished.

Colonel Fitzpatrick continued at the Horse Guards until December 1783, a period of about twenty months, and was followed by Sir George Yonge (second term). Sir George proved a "stayer" like his father, and remained in office until July 1794, being subsequently sent out to the Cape of Good Hope as Governor, a rôle in which he failed egregiously. Fortescue says that as Secretary-at-War he was "incompetent and corrupt," and doubtless has good reason for the latter characterization; of the incompetence there is no question. It is a blot on the War Office record that some twenty-three years of it should be concerned with the two Yonges, one of whom was certainly clever but quite unscrupulous, while the other, with apparently no better principles, was little more than a pompous and incapable fool.

We must at this point retrace our steps a little in order to bring the list of Commanders-in-Chief in accord with that of the Secretaries-at-War. In 1757 John, Earl of Ligonier, a fighting soldier of marked distinction, succeeded the Duke of Cumberland in the chief command of the Forces, and retained the position until 1763, when he apparently lost favour with the King

and the office became vacant. In 1766 the Marquis of Granby, who had been appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in 1763, was made Commander-in-Chief, and remained in that post until his death in 1770. John Manners, Marquis of Granby, was hardly a success at the Horse Guards, but he was a first-rate fighting man, brave and skilful, and a capital divisional leader. He was, moreover, a man of essentially generous instincts. When his troops were in bad quarters in Germany he bought provisions for them out of his own pocket, and, when later he acquired considerable political influence, he warmly opposed the principle, not infrequently put into harsh practice, of dismissing officers because of their political opinions. But as Commander-in-Chief he was neither conspicuously competent nor fortunate. At this time "Junius" was laying about him pretty freely, and on 21 January, 1769, he turned his attention to the Marquis of Granby. Pleasantly remarking that "Nature has been sparing of her gifts to the noble lord," the great unknown qualified even the Commander-in-Chief's generosity by the sarcastic observation, "If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide at the public expense for every creature that bears the name of Manners; and, neglecting the merits and services of the rest of the Army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present Commander-in-Chief is the most generous man alive."

Junius was nothing if not thorough in his attacks. He wound up his amiable allusion by observing, "and if the discipline of the Army be in any way preserved, what thanks are due to a man whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of Commander-in-Chief into a broker of commissions?"

Unfortunately a foolish colonel, Sir W. Draper, with

more zeal than discretion, imagined that by publishing a fulsome panegyric of the Chief he could counter this attack, and his turgid flattery brought Junius into action again. But shortly afterwards Granby died, and Junius himself made some amends for his former severity by declaring that he bore the late Commander-in-Chief no ill-will, and that the latter's "mistakes in public conduct did not arise from want of sentiment or judgment, but, in general, in the difficulty of saying 'no' to the bad people who surrounded him."

After the Marquis of Granby's death in 1770 the office of Commander-in-Chief was vacant for eight years, and was then held until 1782 by Jeffrey, Lord Amherst. Amherst had been Ligonier's A.D.C. at Fontenoy, and in December 1757 was brought over from Germany, probably through the influence of Ligonier, then Commander-in-Chief, to go out to America. Having in 1758 taken over command of the British forces in America, he proved the wisdom of his selection by capturing Louisburg and Fort Duquesne, and so cutting the French line of junction between Canada and the Mississippi. Fortescue regards Amherst, not Wolfe, as the real conqueror of Canada, and speaks of him as a great military administrator, the greatest from Marlborough to Wellington. The "Dictionary of National Biography" is far less enthusiastic, and says that he was by no means a good Commander-in-Chief, and "allowed innumerable abuses to grow up in the Army." Certainly his second term of office, to which we shall come presently, was hardly a dignified one. In passing it may be remarked that Amherst is credited with an officiating appointment as Commander-in-Chief in 1772.

In 1782 General the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway became Commander-in-Chief. During his tenure, which terminated in December 1783, the office was to all intents and purposes a political billet, and Conway was

actually Commander-in-Chief with a seat in the Cabinet. He was at this time more of a politician than a soldier, although he had previously won considerable distinction in the field. The second son of Francis Seymour, first Lord Conway, he had entered the First Foot Guards, and had gone with them at the age of twenty-one to Flanders. He was present at Dettingen, and distinguished himself at Fontenoy. Returning home, he went north with the Duke of Cumberland and fought at Culloden. In 1767 he became Lieutenant of the Ordnance in succession to George Townshend, but, when the latter was appointed Master-General, Conway declined to serve under him. He had quite an important political career. Probably through the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, who was himself at this time actively interfering in politics, he was given a place in the first Rockingham Ministry of 1765, and was entrusted with the leadership of the great Whig party in the House of Commons. In the debate of the following January which led to the Repeal of the Stamp Act, Conway took part, but was completely overshadowed by Pitt. The Ministry was a weak one, and devoted itself chiefly to reversing the acts of its predecessors. Among other "healing measures," as Bright calls them, it condemned the practice of depriving military officers of their commands for political opposition, a practice to which, as noted above, the Marquis of Granby was opposed, and of which General Conway himself was the last victim. When Rockingham left the Ministry in July 1766, and Pitt, now Lord Chatham, became Prime Minister, Conway remained as a Secretary of State. It is one of the interesting coincidences of political history that about this time both the future and the present Commander-in-Chief were prominent political personages. For Lord Granby in 1770 was in Parliament, and, having attacked and voted against

the Ministry, from which Chatham had some time previously seceded, became for a few months, by reason of his personal popularity, a link between Chatham's party and the rest of the Opposition. Indeed it was largely Granby's death, and the consequent weakening of the Opposition, which gave Lord North his first chance of forming a really strong Ministry.

In 1782, as we have seen, Conway was again in the Cabinet, this time as Commander-in-Chief. When Lord Rockingham's Administration broke up at the close of the following year, Conway went out of office, and retired into private life. Horace Walpole, who was his great friend and never tired of singing his praises, wrote to him, "Nobody has any claim on you; you have satisfied every point of honour"; and, alluding to Conway's generosity to officers in pecuniary distress, he adds, "to say the truth, I believe that, if you had continued at the head of the Army, you would have ruined yourself." Conway was subsequently made a field-marshal, and died in 1795.

From 1784 to 1793 there is a hiatus in the succession of substantive Commanders-in-Chief, although in 1788 an acting appointment was conferred on Lord Amherst. The gap is doubtless due to George III's conviction that he himself was a Heaven-sent military administrator, with the result that, even when later he consented to the restoration of the Chiefship, he was perpetually interfering to no sort of good purpose in Army affairs. Unfortunately Amherst, an easy-going man who hated trouble, and was, of course, much gratified with the honours which the King about this time heaped upon him, was the last man in the world to resist such interference. As Stocqueler says, he was content to let the Secretary-at-War and the Adjutant-General manage affairs at the Horse Guards in their own way; and to that shrewd contemporary observer, Horace Walpole,

he appeared to have only such resistance as might pertain to a "log of wood." Writing in 1791, Walpole says, "I have been to White Pussy's this evening"—the hostess referred to was Lady Amherst—"I did not think her lord, the Commander-in-Chief, looked as if *he* would drive Prince Potemkin out of Bulgaria."

In 1793 the King, finding that his assumption of military autocracy was not working well, formally installed Lord Amherst as Commander-in-Chief. But by this time Amherst was seventy-seven and past work, and the King probably regretted the appointment. It would seem that hints as to the propriety of resignation were conveyed to the old man, but he showed much tenacity in hanging on to the post, and was only with some difficulty induced, in 1795, to retire in favour of the Duke of York. Amherst, like Conway, was made a field-marshal, and died two years later.

Before passing on to the eventful tenure of the Commander-in-Chiefship by the Duke of York, it is necessary to take particular note of the year 1794, in which two very interesting occurrences in the history of the War Office took place. The first of these was the appearance, not only in Parliament but in the Cabinet, of William Windham, the first Secretary-at-War to be thus distinguished. "Weathercock Windham," as he was called, in allusion to his unstable political convictions—though his personal integrity was unquestioned—was an interesting figure of whom we shall hear later, but it may be mentioned here that in 1794 he, apparently of his own initiative, introduced a useful reform by consolidating the various allowances made to soldiers—bread money, grass money, poundage money, and necessaries allowance—in order to simplify the accounts.

But the year in question is chiefly remarkable for having produced the first Secretary of State for War in our Parliamentary history. When France declared

war against England in 1793, Pitt, probably realizing the incapacity of the Secretary-at-War, Sir George Yonge, placed the entire conduct of the war in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who then administered also the affairs of the Colonies. This was Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. The next year Pitt was openly joined by the Duke of Portland and other prominent Whigs, and, having to provide for the new-comers, he gave the Colonies to the Duke and created a new Secretariat of State for War, in which he retained his friend Dundas. Thus at one and the same time there were in the Cabinet a Secretary of State for War and a Secretary-at-War, and a new office was inaugurated which has survived the older one, and has been successively held by some of the greatest men in English political history.

Our survey of the second half of the eighteenth century in its relation to the War Office need only be a very brief one, as the leading characteristics of the period in question do not differ widely from those of the preceding fifty years. The Secretary-at-War continued to be a political placeman even though in one instance he happened to be a soldier, and the jobbery and indifference to the crying needs of the Army seem to have been much the same in 1790 as they were in 1710. A slight change for the better in regard to the Army itself is noted by Fortescue as having taken place about 1754, when the Service began to lose something of its former rank unpopularity. The discipline, too, was considerably levelled up. The historian just quoted attributes these improvements largely to the personal influence of the Duke of Cumberland. He describes the latter as a very masterful man who asserted his military authority as Captain-General very freely. One useful effect of this attitude was the disappearance of that absurd and utterly objectionable institution, "Secre-

tary-at-War's leave." Chatham also helped to improve the status of the Army, and to pave the way for a better class of officer, of which Wolfe was a striking example.

But the War Office was for the most part hopelessly inefficient. Added to a succession of politician Secretaries-at-War there now came on the scene the politician Commander-in-Chief in the persons of Granby and Conway. The former, as we have seen, in spite of his personal popularity, was not a good administrator; while Conway, though Fortescue says he showed greater strength as Commander-in-Chief than he had ever betrayed in Parliament, was at the Horse Guards too short a time to divest himself at all completely of his political connexions and prejudices.

In the earlier part of the period under review the establishment of the Army rose in a very striking way. In 1758 it was rather under 84,000, in 1759 it was 85,000 and in 1760 the figure, including the Irish establishment, was 190,000. That anything like this number of soldiers should have been in any way dependent upon civilians like Barrington, Charles Townshend, and Welbore Ellis is a somewhat painful reflection. Especially hardly did the slackness of these placemen at head-quarters press upon the Colonial garrisons, whose privations and humiliations throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century constitute an indelible blot upon the pages of War Office history.

On the Continent things were not much better. Well on in the nineteenth century Sir Herbert Taylor, who had been Military Secretary and Adjutant-General, mentioned that he had joined the Army abroad in 1793. "Nothing could be more disgraceful," he declared; "we were the objects of ridicule to every other service." Sir Herbert did not blame Lord Amherst, whom he described as an officer of considerable experience and

much looked up to. "I think," he remarked, "the evil arose very much from the want of system, and from things having been suffered to go into decay in every respect." That certainly would account for a good deal that wanted mending, and was to be mended in the near future.

CHAPTER VI

FREDERICK, DUKE OF YORK

WE now come to a period in which for a time the civilian element at the Horse Guards was entirely obscured by the military element, to the very great immediate benefit of the Army, but not without some counteracting disadvantages. Distinct and important as were the personalities of the newly created Secretary of State for War, Henry Dundas, and the newly appointed Secretary-at-War, "Weathercock Windham," they were soon, from the standpoint of military administration, to be overshadowed by that of a Royal Commander-in-Chief who, with all his faults, left a very clear mark upon the history of our Army. The period is extraordinarily interesting if only for the above reason, but it is essentially one in which care and judgment are necessary to discriminate between genuine historical facts and the aspect of things as represented by party or public prejudice. It is a period in which corruption and loose notions of honour flourished freely, in which political animosity led to personal attacks of almost fantastic virulence, in which the lampooner and caricaturist went to lengths which to modern taste are often revolting. With so much to confuse and mislead it is not easy to produce a really satisfying picture of the contemporary condition of what was still a department in the making, undergoing a very uncomfortable and rather complicated process of transition.

Let us start with a few details concerning the Royal Commander-in-Chief in question. Frederick Augustus,

Duke of York and Albany, was born in 1763, the second son of George III and Queen Charlotte. In 1780 he was gazetted colonel in the Army, and in the following year he went to Hanover to study French and German. While there he was also instructed in tactics and other branches of the military art, proving himself an apt scholar, and creating a very favourable impression generally. Returning to England, he was in 1782 appointed Colonel of the Horse Grenadier Guards, now the "Second Life," and in the following November he became Major-General at the mature age, it will be noted, of twenty-one. In October 1784 he reached the rank of Lieutenant-General.

In 1791 the Duke of York's military career was temporarily interrupted by his marriage with a German Princess. Gillray, in a cartoon published in November of that year, under the title, "The Soldier's Return," depicts the Duke coming back from Berlin, using his sword as a walking-stick, and, by way of allusion to the bride's handsome dowry, carrying a great bag of money on his back.

In 1792 England was socially and constitutionally in a troubled state, and among the lower classes there was much sympathy with the French Revolution. Presuming on this, the French, shortly after the guillotining of Louis XVI in January 1793, took the initiative by declaring war upon England, nominally because of the opening of the Scheldt and the appropriation of Savoy, but really because diplomatic relations had been intolerably strained, and the French hoped the English lower classes would rise against the Government. As a matter of fact the declaration of war greatly cleared the air for Pitt's Ministry, and steps were taken with almost joyful alacrity to co-operate in Flanders with Austria and Prussia, which were already engaged in hostilities with the French Convention, and had suffered some reverses at the hands of its armies.

The command of the English contingent dispatched to the aid of the Austrian army under the Prince of Coburg was given to Major-General H.R.H. the Duke of York. With the latter, nominally as Adjutant-General, but really as Chief of the Staff, was Sir James Murray, who afterwards assumed the name of Pulteney, a sound and experienced soldier, but, in the words of Fortescue, "shy, awkward, diffident, and liable to fits of dreamy indolence."

The campaign in Flanders proved a miserable failure, but it would be unfair to cast the whole or, indeed, any very large share of the blame on the Duke of York. He was at the time little more than thirty years of age, and his military experience was really insignificant outside the pomp and formality of ceremonial parades and the niceties of drill. Nor was Murray more than indirectly responsible. A good deal of harm was certainly done by the Secretary of State for War, Dundas, who constantly interfered in the campaign, and between whom and Murray a correspondence was maintained which at one point threatened to become a lively one. The chief trouble probably lay in the fact that, while the forces of the French Convention had the military genius of Carnot behind them, and were handled on the whole with skill and purposefulness, there was dissension between Prussia and Austria, and the Allies, now including Spain and Holland as well as England, were dilatory in their movements, and allowed themselves on several occasions to be completely outmanœuvred. To be brief—as this is not a campaign history—neither in 1793 nor in following year was any progress made, some serious defeats were suffered, and the outcry in England was so great that, notwithstanding the King's displeasure, Pitt found it necessary to insist upon the recall of the Duke of York.

This campaign has an incidental interest as it brought

into further prominence the caricaturist, James Gillray, some of whose pictures throw a very useful light upon the condition of affairs at Army head-quarters about this time. Gillray, himself the son of a private soldier, was travelling in Flanders during the campaign, making portraits of the officers, and gathering material for some important compositions hardly less remarkable for their accuracy of detail than for their satirical humour. One of these, issued in May 1793, is called "Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders," and shows the interior of the Commander-in-Chief's tent. The Duke of York himself is seated on a drum, his foot on a torn colour, a fat Flemish "beauty," whom he is pledging in a bumper, on his knee. In one corner is a bundle of muskets tied together, and lean and hungry veterans acting as waiters are bringing in dishes for a banquet. Music is being provided by the Royal trumpeters and the negro cymbal-player, who for many years was a "feature" in the Guards. The Allies, too, are represented in the persons of a Prussian hussar seated on a cannon and drinking from a bottle—his sword, which he has used to slice the lemons for the Duke's punch, lies before him on the table—and of a Dutch General smoking a long pipe, stolidly indifferent to all his surroundings except possibly the big glass of schnapps at his elbow.

Gillray also commemorated the recall of the Duke by a biting cartoon entitled "Pantagruel's Victorious Return to the Court of Gargantua after extirpating the Soupe-Meagres of Bouille-land." The Duke is here represented as being received by his Royal father with as much effusion as if he had accomplished something really splendid, the King being arrayed in hunting costume, as though oblivious of the really serious cares of State.

Another point about this campaign in Flanders which renders it of interest in connexion with the history of

the War Office, is the circumstance that Mr Secretary-at-War Windham took part in it from August to October 1794, more, presumably, as a spectator and guest of the Commander-in-Chief than in any official capacity. It was characteristic of Windham that he should seek this opportunity of getting a first-hand knowledge of military affairs, and goes some way towards justifying Fortescue's high eulogium of him as a capable man, gentle, and highly gifted, "who, for all his devotion to abstruse classical and mathematical studies, alone among civilians possessed sound ideas about the carrying on of war." Certainly as Secretary-at-War Windham presents a far more pleasing figure than does Henry Dundas as Secretary of State *for* War. The latter never seemed to grasp the first principles of the business for the handling of which his office was originally created, and ruined campaign after campaign by fatuous interference or by frittering away the forces available in "little niggling operations." Added to this his plastic principles and habit of hard drinking did not tend to elevate him in the esteem of the more serious portion of the Service. As to the latter deficiency, by the way, it is only fair to say that, in spite of Gillray's cartoon, Fortescue—who can always be implicitly trusted in regard to such statements—affirms that it is absolutely untrue that the Duke of York personally was a hard drinker on active service. On the other hand, it was notorious that at home he frequently exceeded, and once his condition provoked a bitter sarcasm from his eldest brother who, pointing to the Duke of York under the table, observed pleasantly, "There lies the 'hope of the country.'" The Commander-in-Chief was similarly affected at the opening of the Royal Military College, but this time the Prince Regent was also helplessly drunk and therefore not in a position to be critical.

Having demonstrated his incapacity as a commander in the field to the entire satisfaction of everyone except perhaps himself and his doting father, the Duke was enabled early in 1795 to turn his real talents into a more useful groove. Pressure having at last been successfully brought on Lord Amherst to resign, H.R.H. was appointed Commander-in-Chief and raised to the rank of Field-Marshal, commencing immediately to exhibit a degree of sound sense and capacity for military administration which soon made him both respected and popular. To-day it may seem strange that these things should have happened. But, although he had failed in the field, the Duke was welcomed as a Commander-in-Chief if only on the ground that his Royal birth placed him above political parties, and his success as an administrator is not more surprising than the muddle which some excellent leaders in the field have made when called upon to control the affairs of an army in time of peace.

At the outset of his career as Commander-in-Chief the Duke of York made the mistake of supposing that he was invested not only with disciplinary but also with full financial authority. Here he at once found himself up against a wall of Parliamentary authority. Some thirteen years previously there had been rather a close investigation of public accounts, and the arrangements connected with the pay of the Army and military expenditure generally had been subjected to specially severe scrutiny. One of the simple little arrangements found to be in force was one by which the Paymaster-General merely submitted to the Treasury an estimate of the amount required for Army services, and in due course drew it and placed it to what was virtually his private account. Of course he had to pay it out on requisition by the Secretary-at-War, but by surrounding these withdrawals with the maximum of complica-

tion and delay he was able to keep balances of half a million or so to his great personal profit. Nor could the Secretary-at-War bring any great pressure to bear upon him, as he was himself without any official responsibility as to his expenditure. Indeed, as was mentioned on page 32, one Secretary-at-War had definitely and openly repudiated any liability to be called to account for departmental backslidings.

Parliament having taken the matter seriously in hand not only introduced great changes in the Paymaster-General's Department, but also, in 1783, by means of Burke's Act, saddled the Secretary-at-War with financial responsibility. Having accepted the liability, together with an increase of authority, succeeding Secretaries-at-War naturally clung to it, the more so as with an active soldier as Commander-in-Chief it constituted practically the only hold they had on the Army and, incidentally, perhaps, on the Army Agents, through whom most of the numerous military jobs of the period had to be worked. It was this attribute of the civilian side of the War Office which the Duke of York found lying across his path when he became Commander-in-Chief, and it seems to have taken him a little time to realize that it was an obstacle which not even his exceptional influence and position could remove.

Possibly if the Duke of York had obtained control of the expenditure as well as the discipline of the Army he would not have succeeded as well as he did in improving the latter. Be this as it may, he lost no time in tackling several abuses which were beginning to tell heavily upon Army efficiency, notably the appointment of mere boys—sometimes literally schoolboys—to Army commissions, and even to commands of regiments, and the constant absence of officers from their regiments without leave. As an instance of the

extent to which the former custom prevailed, the case may be quoted of a youngster whose father wrote to the War Office pleading that his son might be spared from regimental duties a little longer as he was not quite old enough to leave school! As regards the latter, although "Secretary-at-War's leave" had become obsolete, officers with any sort of political influence could do pretty much as they liked, and could, and often did, treat their commanding officers with almost contemptuous indifference off parade. In this matter of absence without leave the Duke of York acted with considerable vigour, and it soon became evident to the Army that in matters affecting its efficiency he was not to be trifled with.

In a variety of other ways activity was shown at head-quarters. In the matter of uniform the British Army had fallen to some extent under the influence of Frederick the Great, but the Duke had had ample opportunity in Flanders of observing how successfully the French were breaking away from Prussian ideas, and to him was due the abolition of hair powder in our service, and the introduction of much greater freedom of individual movement than had previously been enjoyed. Further, he lent the weight of his authority to the promulgation of the new system of drill and tactics, to the perfection of which General David Dundas—of whom we shall hear again presently—had devoted many years of labour.

But perhaps the principal change brought about by the Duke of York was in the aggrandisement, so to speak, of at least one of the great purely military departments at head-quarters. Up to his time we hear very little indeed of either the Adjutant-General or Quartermaster-General, although the War Office has broken lists of both these officials dating as far back as 1689. As far as can be gathered from these lists,

the first Adjutant-General actually appointed by the Duke was Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Calvert, and his first Quartermaster-General, General David Dundas. The former was a Coldstreamer, had served in America and with the Duke of York in Flanders, and was a most capable officer. The latter was already sixty years of age, and had seen a great deal of fighting as A.D.C. to Elliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, the gallant defender of Gibraltar. As a youngster of nineteen Dundas had walked from Edinburgh to London in order to become a "lieutenant fire-worker" in the Royal Artillery, and latterly, with a passion which gained him the name of "Old Pivot," he had applied himself to the production of the new drill-book mentioned above. He was a tall, spare man, crabbed and austere, the very antithesis of his Royal chief by whom, however, he was greatly esteemed and whom he served with much personal devotion.

Under the Duke of York the duties and importance of the Adjutant-General's office expanded rapidly. An early means to that end was an order requiring correspondence from officers to go through regular channels, thus ensuring that both commanding officers and either the Adjutant-General or Quartermaster-General had cognizance of it. It is strange according to modern ideas that any specific measure of this kind should have been necessary, but it clearly was so, and the new system proved swiftly conducive to a nicer conception of military discipline as well as to a better regulation of business. Another but later step was the introduction of the confidential report, which in modern times has proved a not unmixed blessing, but may at that period have done much to give head-quarters an improved grip upon the Army generally and to inform both Commander-in-Chief and Adjutant-General far more closely of the qualifications of individual officers than had

been possible in the haphazard system heretofore in practice.

In 1799 Pitt having formed a fresh coalition against France an English force of 30,000 was sent to North Holland to co-operate with a Russian army, and the command was given to the Duke of York. Misfortune again dogged his footsteps in the field. Much as he had done for the Army in the past four years he had been unable to reform the Secretary of State for War, and Henry Dundas had procured the men for this expedition chiefly by means of an absurd Act which virtually meant that the Army was recruited from the militia, volunteers from the latter being given a bounty. "The men," says Fortescue, "joined their regiments riotously drunk, and had not even received the clothing of their new corps when they were hurried across the German Ocean." The Allies found difficulty in advancing, and, thanks to bad Russian discipline, were beaten before Bergen. The town was subsequently captured, but the losses were so great, and the Dutch so apathetic, that the Duke was induced to sign the deplorable Convention of Erkmaar and to evacuate Holland, handing over 10,000 French prisoners without exchange. This put a final stopper on the Duke's career as a leader, and it is a striking tribute to his personal popularity that, in spite of this fresh exhibition of incapacity in the field, there was no great outcry for his removal from the Chiefship. It is also pleasant to be able to point to the fact, demonstrated later, that Frederick Augustus did not allow his own failures as a commander to blind him to the military talents of others. It will always be remembered to his credit that he recognized the merits of Wellington and his generals with a frank generosity which showed him to be free from any mean jealousy.

On the threshold of the nineteenth century it becomes

necessary to return for a short time to the civilian side of the War Office which, although, as has been shown, obscured by the presence at the Horse Guards of an energetic Royal Commander-in-Chief, was still occasionally a good deal in evidence. We have noted the repeated interferences of Henry Dundas, who would probably have had but a short career as a War Minister but for the extraordinary and quite uncalled for confidence reposed in him by the all-powerful Pitt. A man of considerable strength of mind, in spite of his failings, Dundas was not likely to be much swayed by either his Under-Secretary of State, William Huskisson, who is described as being for military purposes "the mouthpiece of all parties, the Opposition included," or the Secretary-at-War, William Windham. But the latter, who had become imbued with sympathy for the Royalists in revolutionary France, did succeed in inducing Dundas to support in some measure the ill-fated Quiberon expedition in 1795. For the rest Windham seems to have lent the Duke of York such assistance as he could in the institution of his military reforms. His own department was partly regularized in 1799 when, as a corollary to the order requiring all correspondence relating to discipline to go through the Adjutant-General and all connected with quarters and marches through the Quartermaster-General, it was formally arranged that all business of a financial nature should only be transacted through the Secretary-at-War.

Early in 1801 Pitt resigned the Premiership owing to the King's attitude towards the Irish Catholic Relief Bill, and was followed into retirement by all his leading Ministers, Dundas and Windham among the number. His place was taken by Addington with a very inferior *entourage*, Lord Hobart taking over the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies and War, and Charles Yorke becoming Secretary-at-War. Gillray has an amusing

cartoon entitled "Lilliputian Substitutes," recording the changes, and showing Yorke as a pygmy lost under Windham's cap and feather. Yorke must have been fairly hard worked as Secretary-at-War—more so than Hobart as Secretary of State—but left no enduring mark. In 1802 he introduced a Bill to consolidate the militia laws, and also a very rudimentary Volunteer Act which later led to numerous complications. In 1803 he was succeeded as Secretary-at-War—according to the War Office List—by Charles Bathurst, who gave way the following year to William Dundas. Meanwhile Lord Hobart had been followed in 1804 by Lord Camden who in 1805 was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry.

In 1806 the famous "Ministry of all the Talents" assumed the direction of affairs, and in this William Windham was Secretary of State for the Colonies and War, and our old friend, the fashionable Fitzpatrick, came in under the wing of his friend Fox as Secretary-at-War. In spite of its strength the Ministry did not last long. The King's views on the Irish Catholic question again proved a stumbling-block, and early in 1807 there was a change of Government. Gillray has hit off the event with much coarse humour in a cartoon entitled "Charon's Boat, or the Ghosts of All the Talents taking their last voyage." Mr Secretary Windham is here represented intently studying a document which purports to be "A Scheme for drilling Imps in Hell!"

More will be said in a subsequent chapter as to Windham's work and that of his successor, Lord Castlereagh—whose second term lasted from 1807 to 1809—in regard to Army augmentation and reform. But it has been found convenient to give here the sequence of office-holders up to 1809. In pursuance of this plan it may be mentioned that Fitzpatrick's place as Secretary-at-War was taken by another soldier, the General

Sir James Murray who had accompanied the Duke of York to the Low Countries, and had taken the name of Pulteney on his marriage with the wealthy Henrietta Laura Pulteney, Baroness Bath. In person and manner a striking contrast to Fitzpatrick, he resembled him in leaving little or no mark upon an office in which an experienced soldier should have been able to effect many reforms.

Reverting to the Duke of York, we find him on his return from North Holland busily taking up the threads of home Army administration, and devoting special attention to the foundation of a Royal Military College for the education of officers. From the First or Senior Department of this College, instituted in 1800, was developed later our modern Staff College, the Junior Department expanding through various changes into what is now the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

In 1803 the country was thrown into a ferment of excitement by expectation of the French invasion, and for a good many months the Head-quarters Staff were closely occupied with schemes of resistance, some of them of a very futile description. As Dr Bright remarks, "neither the Kentish ditch nor a few round towers mounting one gun each, nor a half disciplined militia, could have checked the French Army had a landing been effected. The real value of such preparations was the life and energy and courage which they roused in the people." Much credit is due to the Royal Commander-in-Chief for the personal vigour and industry with which he threw himself into the special work of inspection of corps and posts rendered necessary by the Napoleonic menace, and there is plenty of contemporary evidence to show that his efforts, both in this connexion and in regard to the later developments of the war with France, were warmly appreciated by the country at large.

CHAPTER VII

AN HISTORIC SCANDAL

UNFORTUNATELY the Duke of York's career of usefulness as Commander-in-Chief was to be rudely interrupted by the emergence into painfully complete publicity of the most deplorable scandal in the whole history of the War Office. For several years previously to 1809 abundant gossip had been in circulation concerning certain petticoat influence of a low kind, to which his Royal Highness was understood to have become susceptible, and ugly stories were afloat of the manner in which commissions and promotions were being hawked and sold under conditions several degrees less reputable than those commonly in vogue. In the prosecution of this traffic honest military claims had, of course, been cynically disregarded. A notorious case was that of a Brevet-Major Hogan who had for three years been "noted" for promotion to a substantive majority, but in that period had had forty junior captains passed over his head. Resigning his commission in disgust he found himself docked £400 of the "regulation" price (£1100) on the ground that the War Department had no record of ever having received that sum. He accordingly advertised in the Press his intention of publishing all the facts of his case.

On the day the advertisement appeared Major Hogan, who was staying at Frisk's Hotel in Bond Street, was surprised to receive from the hands of a waiter the following letter enclosing banknotes for £400 :—

"SIR,—The enclosed will answer for the deficit of which

you complain, and which was not allowed you through mere oversight. I hope this will prevent the publication of your intended pamphlet, and, if it does, you may rely on a better situation than the one you had. When I find that you have given up all idea of opening your secrets to public view, which would hurt you with all the Royal Family, I shall make myself known to you, and should be happy in your future acquaintance and friendship, by which, I promise you, you will reap much benefit. If you will recall the advertisement, you shall hear from me, and your claims shall be rewarded as they deserve."

The waiter said he had received the missive from a fashionably dressed lady who had driven up in a barouche with liveried attendants. This testimony, together with a certificate signed by four other officers who happened to be in the hotel at the time, was afterwards published by Hogan in a pamphlet which naturally created a considerable sensation, and led to further and still more sensational disclosures.

Ultimately it transpired that from 1804 to 1806 there had existed more or less openly a traffic in commissions, the details of which would be incredible but for the very circumstantial and authentic evidence on which the record of them is based. Contemporary caricatures indicate that, even before the Parliamentary inquiry, to which reference will be made presently, took place, the system pursued was a matter of notoriety. In one picture entitled "Military Leapfrog, or Hints to young Gentlemen," youthful Army officers are shown jumping over the backs of others stricken in years and crippled with wounds. At one end of the row stands a clerkly figure holding a bag and offering the suggestion, "Throw in your purses of £300 and you'll jump the quicker." At the other is an attractive female whom a superscription designates as "Principal Clark," and who in return for purses offers majorities. Presumably the civilian on the left is in-

tended for one of the Army Agents, of whom we shall hear more in Chapter IX. "Principal Clark" is for the moment a much more outstanding figure, and it is to her, and the outrageous scandal arising out of her connexion with the Duke of York, that the present chapter chiefly refers.

Various accounts have been given of the early career of Mary Ann Clarke, but the following appears to be the most trustworthy version. Born about 1776, the daughter of a tradesman and fairly well educated, she married, as an attractive and high-spirited girl of sixteen, a stonemason named Clarke, from whom she separated a year or two later in order to become mistress successively to several men about town. There is a story of her having been on the stage and having played Portia, but it is not authenticated. It is supposed that she met the Duke of York in 1802 or 1803 at one of the spas, and for a time she lived under his protection at Hampstead. Early in 1804 the Duke installed her in a fine house in Gloucester Place, with carriages, a score of servants, and other luxurious accompaniments. A little later his Royal Highness gave her, in addition, a country residence at Weybridge in Surrey, close to his own place at Oatlands Park. Here a similarly extravagant establishment was maintained.

The allowance nominally made by the Duke to Mrs Clarke was a handsome one, but the payments were very irregular, and after a very short time the lady conceived the idea of meeting her expenses by selling her influence with his Royal Highness. Thenceforward for about two years she trafficked shamelessly in a variety of appointments, even reckoning clergymen among her clients. But more particularly she dealt in Army commissions and promotions, bringing to the business not only absolute unscrupulousness but quite extraordinary cleverness and address. Early in 1804 she appears to have entered into

PROMOTION BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS

A CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE BY CRUIKSHANK ILLUSTRATING THE MARY ANN CLARKE SCANDAL

some sort of arrangement with a Colonel French and a Captain Huxley Sandon, for whom, in return for considerable sums of money, she succeeded in obtaining from the Duke valuable "letters of service" to raise recruits, and other favoured treatment. In the case of Colonel French's "levy" it was afterwards demonstrated that every man raised cost the country £150. Captain Sandon appears to have acted later as an intermediary between Mrs Clarke and other officers anxious for speedy promotion and willing to pay for it. In a letter to him she writes:—"I am thoroughly convinced of the money being too trifling, and I have mentioned it to a person who knows the full value of these things, so you may tell Bacon and Spedding they must give each of them two hundred, and the captains must give me fifty each more. I am now offered eleven hundred for an older officer." And again, under date 28 September, 1804:—"Be so good as to look at the Gazette to-morrow evening, as I rather expect some of the names to be inserted. I have others which I assure you upon my honour. The present for my trouble for the majority is seven hundred guineas, so if you have any more this must be the same."

The culminating point of Mrs Clarke's audacity and unscrupulousness was reached when she actually obtained for her footman, Samuel Carter, a lieutenant-colonel's commission in a regiment serving in the West Indies! The sudden promotion does not seem to have brought the flunkey-officer much immediate benefit, for on embarkation in a transport at Portsmouth he wrote an agonized appeal to his former mistress for a little pecuniary aid to alleviate his distressful condition. "I have no stock for the voyage," he says, "neither have I any money to purchase those little things which are absolutely necessary. I have to keep watch four hours every night, and have nothing to eat but salt meat three times a week, and water to drink, the rum being so bad 'tis impossible to drink it."

While the commissioned ranks of the British Army were being filled, and promotions in it expedited, in this unconventional fashion, the relations between the Commander-in-Chief and Mrs Clarke were of the most tender description. That she was an exceptionally attractive young woman there can be no question. By no means tall, or classically beautiful, she fascinated by her prettiness and unaffected gaiety of manner, and, apart from her business capacity, she was notably bright and intelligent. That the Duke was at one time extremely fond of her is proved by his letters, several of which were afterwards published. In one of these, by the way, dated Sandgate, 24 August, 1804, the Royal Commander-in-Chief makes an interesting reference to a tour of inspection along the coast in anticipation of the threatened Napoleonic invasion. After thanking his love ten thousand times for some delightful handkerchiefs which she has worked for him with her own dear hands, he goes on to say:—

"Nothing could be more satisfactory than the tour I have made, and the state in which I have found everything. The whole of the day before yesterday was employed in visiting the works of Dover: reviewing the troops there, and examining the coast as far as this place. From Folkstone (*sic*) I had a very good view of those of the French camp.

"Yesterday I reviewed the camp here, and afterwards the 14th Light Dragoons, who are certainly in very fine order: and from thence proceeded to Brabourn Lees, to see four regiments of militia; which altogether, took me up near thirteen hours. I am now setting off immediately to ride along the coast to Hastings, reviewing the different corps as I pass, which will take me at least as long."

The nature as well as the style of this communication seems to indicate that Mrs Clarke had convinced her Royal lover that she was very intelligently interested in

the military duties to which he himself was genuinely devoted.

A year later, the Duke wrote to his "darling love," then staying at Worthing, sending her "millions and millions of thanks" for "her dear, her pretty letter." But the following autumn his suspicions were aroused and, after instituting inquiries, he decided to close the connexion. In May 1806 a Mr Adam was empowered by his Royal Highness to offer Mrs Clarke an annuity of £400 a year, "if her conduct was correct," but as to the payment of this the Duke would enter into no obligation in writing, by bond, or otherwise. As a result of these negotiations Mrs Clarke retired into the country and duly received, it would seem, sums on account of the stipulated allowance. But in June 1808 we find her back in town, complaining to Mr Adam that she has not been paid regularly and that H.R.H. owes her £500, and threatening that, if these arrears are not forthcoming, and the annuity properly secured to her, she will publish details of her connexion with the Duke. Of this and a subsequent representation no notice appears to have been taken.

Another actor now comes on the scene in the person of a Colonel Gwillim Lloyd Wardle, M.P., who at this time must have been about forty-six years of age, and who not long previously had married a lady of considerable means. Wardle had formerly held a commission in a troop of Dragoons raised by Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, had accompanied it to Ireland, and is said to have fought at Vinegar Hill. He had retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel and taking up his residence at Bath had been elected Member of Parliament for Okehampton in 1807. Coming to town he conceived the idea of making an attack in the House of Commons against the Duke of York on the ground that the Commander-in-Chief had connived at the now notorious irregularities in regard to the traffic in

Army commissions. Wardle's subsequent actions show him to have been a poor sort of creature, and in the prosecution of his campaign he displayed few scruples. According to one account he went out of his way to make the case against the Duke blacker than it was, and it is even suggested that it was Mrs Wardle who left the letter and bank-notes for Major Hogan, as narrated in the early part of this chapter, with a view to arousing public interest in the subject. As might be supposed, Colonel Wardle lost very little time in coming into touch with Mrs Mary Ann Clarke, whom he found very willing, for a consideration, to furnish him with the details necessary for a formal indictment of the Duke's conduct.

Six months after Mrs Clarke's final rupture with the Duke—to be precise on 27 January, 1809—Colonel Wardle moved in the House of Commons that an inquiry be made into the behaviour of the Commander-in-Chief with respect to promotions, the disposal of commissions, and the raising of new levies, and, after a brisk debate, the Government with Mr Perceval at its head, agreed that the inquiry should take place. Accordingly Mrs Mary Ann Clarke and various other witnesses were brought before a Committee of the House of Commons, and a number of letters, among them several from the Duke, were read. Some of the details of this inquiry are very entertaining, Mrs Clarke in particular holding her own as a witness with much dexterity and saucy wit. The gist of her evidence was to the effect that the Duke knew perfectly well that she was making money out of his connexion with her. She alleged, in fact, that he had explicitly said that, if she were "clever" she would have no need to ask him for money. In the course of the proceedings a report was given of a conversation said to have taken place between the Duke and Mrs Clarke with reference to the Colonel French whom we have had occasion to mention as one of the lady's earliest clients. "French,"

says the Duke, " worries me continually about the Levy business, and is always wanting something more in his own favour. How does he behave to you, Darling ? " To which Mrs Clarke replies, " Middling, not very well " ; and H.R.H. rejoins, " Mister French must mind what he is about, or I shall cut him up and his Levy, too." This alleged episode, by the way, provoked the particular wrath of Cobbett, who in his " Political Register " made some very scathing remarks upon the case.

The inquiry came to an end on 23 February and was immediately followed by a letter from the Duke of York to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which, after expressing his regret that a connexion should have existed which exposed his character to public animadversion, H.R.H. went on to say, " With respect to any alleged offences connected with the discharge of my official duties, I do, in the most solemn manner, upon my honour, as a Prince, distinctly assert my innocence, not only by denying all corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions which have appeared in evidence at the Bar of the House of Commons, or any connivance at their existence, but also the slightest knowledge or suspicion that they existed at all."

On 8 March, a debate was commenced with reference to the inquiry, and was continued for six days, some of the speeches being marked by considerable rancour, while others, notably that of the blind member for Oxford, Mr Burton, displayed much breadth of mind and analytical power. As against the damaging evidence with regard to the Duke's personal character it was warmly urged in his favour that, in the opinion of very competent judges, among them Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, he had discharged his ordinary duties as Commander-in-Chief with great zeal and ability. The outcome of the debate was that in a House of 474 the Duke's innocence of the charges brought against him was affirmed by a

majority of 82. This was on 18 March, and two days later the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Duke of York had tendered his resignation of the chief command of the Army, which resignation his Majesty the King had been pleased to accept.

The sequel as regards the other two principal actors in this sordid drama may be told in a few words. Colonel Wardle for a time was a popular hero but fell into disrepute owing to an action brought against him by an upholsterer named Wright, who declared that Wardle had commissioned him to furnish a house for Mrs Clarke in consideration of the services she had rendered in connexion with the inquiry into the Duke's conduct. Wardle lost the case and was cast in heavy damages. He subsequently sued Mrs Clarke and Wright for libel and was again unsuccessful. Ultimately under pecuniary pressure he fled the country and died in 1833. Mrs Clarke by fresh threats of publishing the Duke's letters succeeded in obtaining £7000 and a pension of £400. She published her "Memoirs" and several pamphlets including "A Letter to the Right Hon. William Fitzgerald," which led in 1813 to her imprisonment for nine months for libel. After 1815 she removed to Paris where she was much sought after on account of her wit and her store of scandalous reminiscences. She died at Boulogne in 1852.

It goes without saying, that, stirring as the times were, and complete as was the change effected at the War Office by the Duke's resignation and the succession of Sir David Dundas to the Chiefship, the Mary Ann Clarke episode was long in fading out of the public mind. One very unpleasant result of the Commons inquiry was the publication not only of some of Gillray's most telling cartoons, but also of a swarm of pamphlets, mostly scurrilous and some of them mere tissues of lies, but nearly all significant because they emphasize not only the Commander-in-Chief's behaviour but also the readi-

ness of so many officers to adopt disgraceful means for obtaining advancement. It is in this latter connexion, perhaps, that the whole unsavoury business of the Clarke disclosures ought most seriously to be regarded. The standard of honour in the Army must indeed have been at a low level for Mrs Clarke to have been able to find clients so readily as she did. For the majority of the transactions revealed by the evidence were quite outside the very broad pale of doubtful practice to which the rotten system of purchase of commissions lent some countenance. They were simply cases in which large bribes were offered to the Commander-in-Chief's mistress in the certain knowledge that she could and would use her influence to get things done which in the ordinary way either would not be done, or the doing of them would be greatly delayed. The mere fact that so many holders of commissioned rank should have hastened to take advantage of the corrupt opportunities thus offered is indeed a bad blot on the history of British military honour.

As to the Duke of York's share in the episode there is, of course, no need now to question seriously the verdict of the House of Commons. But it must be sorrowfully remembered that that verdict was far from being a unanimous one, and that nearly two-fifths of the House to all intents and purposes expressed their conviction that the Duke, notwithstanding his solemn assurance, did have at least some knowledge of the irregularities which his lax personal morality and incredible slackness rendered so patently possible. That he could have been absolutely ignorant and unsuspicious of them is, indeed, only to be explained by crediting him with a degree of gullibility and crass stupidity which it is difficult to reconcile with the ability and discrimination he displayed in regard to much of his official business. The mere fact that week after week his mistress should have been bringing to his notice the names of fresh officers, with many of whom

she could have hardly become personally acquainted, and asking specific favours for these gentlemen, should surely have been sufficient to arouse suspicion. A majority of the House of Commons, however, thought otherwise, and "the honour of a Prince" was whitewashed. Whether that whitewashing would have been regarded as adequate by a thoroughly aroused public if the Duke had not promptly tendered his resignation is, perhaps, a doubtful proposition. In any case the bare record given here—from which many details have advisedly been omitted—of this disreputable episode is sufficient to qualify the strange dictum of the author of the standard history of the British Army that the Duke of York was the best Commander-in-Chief we have ever had. That is a pedestal upon which it is absurd to elevate the man who, putting his own personal immorality altogether aside, must unquestionably be held responsible for the degradation of British military honour to the lowest level to which—except in the black year of 1688—it has ever been allowed to sink.

CHAPTER VIII

AN INTERREGNUM AND A RESTORATION

IT seems to have been pretty clearly understood even by Sir David Dundas himself that the latter was intended to serve only as a warming-pan until such time as the Duke of York could be restored to the Chiefship without provoking any serious public outcry. There was no need to anticipate any objection on the part of the Army which had grown very fond of the Duke of York and found difficulty in appreciating "Old Pivot's" cold virtues. In the "Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles Napier" by his brother, the historian of the Peninsular War, there are several references to Dundas, all more or less disparaging. Writing in July 1910 from Portugal, Napier, says, "If Sir D. Dundas sees that people are angry he will give in, for I know he is to be bullied like all old men." And a little later, "Old Pivot can only stop my promotion, which will be reckoned shockingly unjust." In December he bursts out, "I want to get a rise out of Old Pivot before he goes to the devil," and in the spring of 1811 he roundly declares that the promotion which he should have had specially on account of Coruña was denied him "because old David Dundas was jealous of Moore's glory." One of Dundas's austere observations used to be that "nobody has any claim," and it is hardly to be wondered at that this attitude did not commend itself to men who were seeing in the Peninsula a very different class of fighting from any in which the temporary Commander-in-Chief himself had taken part.

Dundas appears to have been fairly successful in regard to the reinforcements sent out to the army in the Peninsula, but he was unfortunate in that his tenure of the Chiefship included the Walcheren Expedition, one of the most deplorably unsuccessful enterprises with which the British army has ever been associated. The failure, however, cannot be fairly attributed to Dundas, but rather to the absurd selection, through ministerial influence, of Lord Chatham, then Master-General of the Ordnance, to command the land forces of the expedition.

Before passing on from the David Dundas interregnum to the second tenure of the Duke of York it will be convenient to say a few words respecting the general military administration at this period. At the end of the eighteenth century there were five distinct heads under which that administration was conducted, namely, the Secretary of State, the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary-at-War, two Paymaster-Generals, and the Board of Ordnance. Apart from the Parliamentary representatives of the last-named, of which there were generally three or four at least—half a century previously there had been six—the Secretary of State, the Secretary-at-War, and both Paymaster-Generals were members of the House of Commons.

We have seen that, while Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, was Secretary of State for War only, his successors, Hobart, Camden, Castlereagh, and Windham were Ministers for both the Colonies and War, and this association, it may now be mentioned, continued until 1854. It may also be noted that Hobart took over the volunteers which, together with the yeomanry, the militia, and the "Fencibles," had remained under the Home Office.

Concerning Secretaries-at-War and Commanders-in-Chief we have had already copious details. But as

regards the Paymasters-General it may be mentioned that at the end of the eighteenth century the Treasury not only controlled, through the Paymasters-General, the pay of the army, but also the transport and supply. This circumstance, which is admirably dealt with by Fortescue in a separate paper reprinted in his "British Army, 1783–1802" from the *United Service Magazine*, was a relic of the old institution of Treasurer-at-War to which reference was made in Chapter I. The Treasurer-at-War practically controlled the various Commissaries-General, and, when he disappeared after the Restoration, the Commissariat became a department of the Treasury. This led to great complexity and frightful scandals, and at the end of the eighteenth century an effort was made to strike out a new line by the formation of a corps of Royal Waggoners. This proved a failure, and in 1799 another attempt was made to secure some measure of independence from the Treasury by the creation of the Royal Waggon Train which lasted until 1833, when our arrangements for transport and supply lapsed completely, until we discovered at the outset of the Crimean War that we possessed no system at all, and a temporary land Transport Corps had to be improvised.

The Duke of York also endeavoured, by instituting what was called a Staff Corps, to become to a certain extent independent of the Board of Ordnance, which controlled, not only the *matériel* for the whole army, but also the *personnel* of the Artillery and Engineers, and was consequently in the ordinary way responsible for the supply of military artificers. But it does not appear that any marked success was attained in this direction, and the Board of Ordnance—which in 1780 Burke urged Parliament to abolish—continued a power in the land until the middle of the nineteenth century.

A Commander-in-Chief hampered by having to deal

with a Secretary of State, a Secretary-at-War, two Paymasters-General, both in Parliament, and an influential Ordnance Board, to say nothing of having to get his transport from the Treasury and to consult the Home Office as to everything connected with the militia, was not well placed for the speedy transaction of military business. The complexity, too, increased during the long war which closed with the Battle of Waterloo. In 1815, as noted in the "Army Book for the British Empire" (1893), the number of *distinct* military head-quarters offices had risen to thirteen, of which the following is the bare enumeration:—(1) Secretary of State for Colonies and War, (2) Commander-in-Chief's office, (3) Secretary-at-War, in Parliament, (4) Superintendents of Military Accounts, (5) Board of General Officers, (6) Commissary-in-Chief, (7) Judge Advocate-General in Parliament, (8) Army Medical Board, (9) Commissioners of Barracks, (10) Commissary-General of Musters, (11) Two Paymasters-General, one in Parliament, (12) Board of Ordnance, and (13) Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital. Some of these were certainly in existence at the close of the eighteenth century in addition to the five officers mentioned on page 86, but either had no separate existence or were in a state of comparative obscurity.

But the multiplication of the head-quarters offices was not the only or the most important home military result of the great war. During the invasion scare which lasted on and off from 1803 to 1805 the need for largely increasing the available military strength naturally became urgent, and a succession of measures both during this period, and in the decade which followed before the final conflict at Waterloo, brought about a long spell of peace, shows with painful clearness the rotten foundations of our military system at this period. Burke's Act in 1783, which has already been noted as

having fixed the financial responsibility of the Secretary-at-War, had done something to lessen the absolute authority of colonels of regiments in regard to pay and recruiting, but the whole question of the supply of men for the regular Army was still in a confused state, and liable to constant further derangement by changes in regard to the militia, more especially in the matter of substitutes. The closing years of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth centuries saw quite a variety of Acts regularizing the paid substitute system for the militia, permitting enlistment into the standing army from the militia, and altering the bounties; but in 1802 we find the military force of the United Kingdom, abroad and at home, to be only about 151,000, of whom about 98,000 were regulars and the rest militia. The regular infantry at home numbered under 40,000.

In 1804 William Pitt made an important move towards augmenting this insignificant defensive force by the introduction of his "Additional Forces Act" which incidentally established the principle of second or reserve battalions to regiments abroad and with a county connexion. In passing it may seem remarkable that with so many Parliamentary representatives of the army this measure should have needed the direct sponsorship of the Prime Minister. But it should be noted that the plan under which these second battalions were to be raised was very much on the lines of the militia ballot, parishes being required to furnish their quota or being penalized in default, a distinct attempt at compulsory service in a small way. Even with the advantage of Pitt's personal backing, and in spite of the urgency of the crisis, the Bill only passed through the House by a majority of 40.

Thanks largely, too, to Pitt's personal efforts a great Volunteer Force was raised for local service, the number shown in the 1803–4 Estimates being 463,000. Im-

pressive as this display of popular enthusiasm was the volunteers were not universally appreciated. Even at the War Office it was thought that the movement interfered with recruiting for the regulars and militia, and Windham said of Addington, who had introduced the new Volunteer Act, that not only had he not provided an army but had rendered it impossible that an army should be provided.

In 1806 Windham, in order to make service in the regulars more popular, brought in a Bill introducing limited service and a title to pension. Previously the contract of service under which the soldier had entered the army had been for life, except during certain special periods when, for the purposes of a temporary augmentation, two and three year enlistments had been made. Windham's actual proposals did not prove feasible but he must be given credit for being the first Minister who succeeded in getting through a measure of this kind. His idea was to enlist recruits for seven years' service in the infantry, eight in the cavalry, and twelve in the artillery. He met with considerable opposition to his scheme among the leading generals of the day, only a narrow majority out of those to whom it was officially referred being in favour of a change. The opinions are given *in extenso* in General Sir J. W. Gordon's "Military Transactions" from the beginning of 1803 to the end of 1807, compiled from documents in the office of Commander-in-Chief. Among them is a very hostile criticism by Sir John Moore who thought that only "service which is forced should be limited in time." He somewhat ungrammatically dreaded "a change which may affect Troops who as they are combine qualities very uncommon, and which make them perhaps the best soldiers in Europe." His mind, he says, "suggests much evil but no good as likely to arise from it."

The senior Gunner officers of the army were equally uncompromising in their condemnation. They do not hesitate to record their opinion that "limited service in the Artillery must be attended with the very worst effects to this Service."

In 1808 Lord Castlereagh modified Wyndham's scheme by offering the recruit the alternative of enlisting for a term of years or for life. Castlereagh also produced a very importamt Bill for raising "Local Militia" by ballot without substitute as the reserve force for the country, the idea being to use the existing general militia for offensive purposes if necessary. This might have proved under more favourable conditions a very sound measure, and the idea of "Local Militia" has not infrequently been revived at a later date. But the absurdities of the general militia system were such as to discount heavily any chance of success which a militia second line scheme might have. In 1809 as much as £60 was being paid by men drawn in the militia ballot for a substitute. One substitute went to the front "on condition of receiving 4s. per day during the war, and another sold himself for 7s. 3d. per lb." Things improved a little as time went on, and in 1811 the method of feeding the regular Army from the militia was systematized, the latter being allowed to enlist men supernumerary to the establishment in anticipation of vacancies likely to be caused through volunteering to the regulars. Recruiting, too, was to be by beat of drum instead of ballot. By 1813 the militia had provided in ten years nearly 100,000 recruits for the regular army, and the number of militiamen taken for the Waterloo campaign must have greatly swelled the number. Castlereagh's "Local Militia" Act was not put in force after 1815, but it remained in the Statute Book for nearly a century, an interesting memorial of a War Minister of whom a good many hard things have

been said, but who was broad-minded enough to profit by his mistakes, and left the Army very much stronger than he found it.

Castlereagh's great mistake was the Walcheren Expedition, for which both Canning and Wellington thought that he starved the army in the Peninsula. In the early part of his career he rather fancied himself as an amateur strategist, and when the Napoleonic invasion was thought to be imminent, he put forward a foolish scheme for meeting it with a host of small boats called "catamarans." At first, like Henry Dundas, he was addicted to the employment of trivial forces, and his treatment of Sir John Moore was neither generous nor straightforward. But he grew in wisdom, and must at any rate be credited with having succeeded where Windham failed in the matter of limited service. His arrangements in regard to the latter held good for over twenty years when, from 1829 to 1847, there was an interval in which, owing to the smallness of our military requirements, long service pure and simple was in force. The Castlereagh scheme was then with some modifications reintroduced.

As we have already wandered so far away from David Dundas and the Chiefship we may as well, perhaps, complete here our record of the civil side of the War Office up to the date of the Duke of York's death. Taking first the Secretaries of State for War, we find Castlereagh succeeded in November 1809 by Lord Liverpool. This was the second Earl, and one is liable to be a little confused by the fact that in 1809 he had for a short time his younger brother, who later became the third Earl, as his Under Secretary. Liverpool was a man of good sense who warmly urged the evacuation of Walcheren, and did his best to support the army in the Peninsula, but received very little gratitude from Wellington or appreciation from Napier. In passing, those

who have been brought up in the belief that Wellington and his army were wilfully starved and crippled by the Government of the day should refer to the seventh volume of Fortescue's "History" in which this view is combated with admirable vigour and precision.

In June 1812, after the assassination of Mr Perceval, Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister, and Henry, third Earl Bathurst, was made Secretary of State for the Colonies and War. An able and useful man, he succeeded in creating the impression that an improvement noticeable about this time in the state of affairs in the Peninsula was largely due to his having taken over the War portfolio. Possibly what his biographer calls his "quick grasp of military questions," as displayed in some of his letters reproduced in the "Wellington Despatches," may have heightened this impression. For the rest his tenure of office is chiefly remarkable for its length. It lasted indeed until after the death of the Duke of York, being brought to a close by the ministerial crisis which followed Lord Liverpool's apoplectic stroke in February 1827.

An even longer tenure of the Secretaryship-at-War was that of the great Palmerston who, however, in this office did not display anything like the individuality which subsequently marked his conduct of Foreign Affairs. He "took over" in 1809 from Granville Leveson-Gower, afterwards Earl Granville, who was for a few months in that year Secretary-at-War in succession to Sir James Pulteney (see page 73), and he retained the post until 1828, the longest tenure in the whole history of the appointment.

Reverting now to the military side, we have to retrace our steps to 1811 when, in consequence of King George III's now hopeless insanity, the Prince of Wales was appointed Regent. The Prince lost no time in restoring his brother, the Duke of York, to the Commander-

in-Chiefship, the trusty Sir David Dundas making way without a murmur. Very general satisfaction was expressed throughout the Army at the return of the Duke, but it would seem that at the time it was by no means taken for granted in service circles that he would be reinstated. Writing from Portugal in February 1811, Charles Napier says, with reference to his long-deferred promotion, "If Lord Moira comes in as Commander-in-Chief, I have his unsolicited promise to give me a lieutenant-colonelcy," from which we may infer that Lord Moira himself had strong expectations of succeeding Dundas. Be this as it may the Duke's re-appearance at the Horse Guards was unquestionably popular, and H.R.H. quickly proceeded to justify it by taking up his old duties with undiminished vigour and an improved sense of his personal dignity.

At first things did not go altogether smoothly. Although the news of the rupture between Colonel Wardle and Mrs Mary Ann Clarke (see Notes, page 82) had produced some little reaction in favour of the Duke, there were still plenty of critics eager to pick holes in his conduct and associations, and in 1812 an opportunity presented itself in connexion with an inquiry into the position of the Army Agencies, with which we shall deal at close quarters in the succeeding chapter. It is sufficient here to say that the Duke's addiction to gambling and his consequent almost constant financial embarrassment, did lend colour to the suspicion that he was not as scrupulous and impartial in the matter of these Agencies as he should have been. But luckily for the Commander-in-Chief there were reasons which, as we shall see later, made it difficult to carry the inquiry into the subject to a logical conclusion, and the storm blew itself out not, however, without deepening the prejudice which at once seems to attach itself to the Duke's character wherever women or money are concerned.

In other directions, too, there was outspoken criticism. Parliament began to turn its cold grey eye on sinecures and doubtful pensions, and there were several notable resignations and curtailments. An epidemic of Army clothing changes having set in, the House of Commons intervened here also, and the military milliners at head-quarters came in for a good deal of ridicule to which Lord Palmerston as Secretary-at-War had to make such reply as he could. As a matter of fact the Duke of York was a queer mixture of good sense and stupidity in all that pertained to a soldier's dress and accoutrements, and, while he did much to break away from the unbending stiffness of the Great Frederick régime, he never seemed to consider, as Stocqueler points out, the question of weight. The soldier in quarters at this time carried on his person a weight of not less than sixty pounds, and in heavy marching order the burden rose to eighty pounds. If a regiment was sent to India the same attention was expended on warm clothing and thick black leather stocks as if it were going to winter in Scotland.

Still a good deal of useful progress was made, and, when the time came in 1814 for the nation to express its appreciation of the military services rendered since 1803 at home and abroad, the Duke was handsomely included in the award of praise. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were given him for "the benefits he had bestowed on the nation as Commander-in-Chief in the wars then concluded." Again in 1815 after the Waterloo campaign there were fresh votes of thanks, and a hearty reference to the Duke's "continued, effectual, and unremitting exertions in the discharge of the duties of his high station during a period of upwards of twenty years."

After the war was over the Duke did a great deal in many ways to ameliorate the lives of both officers and

soldiers. Although in his time little that was really effective could be done in mitigation of the evils of the purchase system—which will be dealt with later in a separate chapter—he contrived in 1825 to give a good many promotions without purchase to deserving officers, and made a distinct effort to prevent collusion between buyer and seller in the matter of "over-regulation" prices of commissions. Another thing which greatly endeared the Duke as Commander-in-Chief to the Army at large was his accessibility. He held one or two levées every week, and he was always most friendly in his bearing towards old and young alike.

In the spell of inaction which followed the war there was a tendency to indiscipline among even the commissioned ranks, and a good deal of the Commander-in-Chief's time was taken up in connexion with courts-martial. As a rule he appears to have acted with considerable vigour and decision. With his approval two Gunner officers were dismissed from the service for refusing to participate in a Roman Catholic service; a colonel who appealed to the House of Commons against a Horse Guards' decision in respect to a claim he had set up against another officer was also removed from the "Army List"; and when a serious misunderstanding arose in the 10th Hussars the Duke did not hesitate to pack off nearly all the officers to other corps.

For the non-commissioned ranks he did much in small ways and in one great one, the establishment, namely, of the School which bears his name and which, after many years' sojourn in Chelsea, was transferred a few years back to the healthier neighbourhood of Dover. The School is for the free education of sons of warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Army, preference being given to orphans and those whose fathers have been killed or died in service abroad. Between 500 and 600 boys are accommodated entirely

WHITEHALL IN 1795

SHOWING THE HORSE GUARDS BUILDING WITH THE DOME ADDED

at State expense; if fit and willing to serve they are placed in the Army after attaining fourteen years of age; those who are unfit are either apprenticed, placed in service, or handed over to their friends.

The Duke was well served by his Staff Officers. Sir Harry Calvert, with whom we shall meet again later, retained as Adjutant-General his place during the Dundas interregnum, and so apparently did Lieutenant-General Robert Brownrigg, who in 1803 had given up the Military Secretaryship to become Quartermaster-General, and who in that capacity earned the commendation of Wellington. But in 1811 some changes took place. General Sir J. W. Gordon, whose "Military Transactions" were quoted on page 90, followed Brownrigg as Quartermaster-General, and his place as Military Secretary was taken by Major-General Sir Henry Torrens, who had served as Sir Arthur Wellesley's Military Secretary in 1808, and had previously accompanied the unfortunate General Whitelocke to Buenos Ayres. In 1819 Torrens succeeded Calvert as Adjutant-General, and revised "Old Pivot's" Drill Regulations, which were now quite out of date. He was early at his desk, rising regularly at 5 a.m., and was one of the hardest workers of his time.

The Duke of York had an attack of dropsy in June 1826, and died the following January. His tenure of the Chiefship was, as we have seen, marked by very grave irregularities of personal conduct, and his record in the matter of the Army Agencies, which came to a head in his second term, was hardly as clear as could be wished. But he loved the Army well, and it may charitably be said of him, in reversal of Mark Antony's dictum, that most of the good he did lived after him, while most of the evil was "interrèd with his bones."

CHAPTER IX

ARMY AGENCIES

IN the two preceding chapters passing reference was made to the subject of Army Agencies, which towards the close of the eighteenth century had begun to exercise a marked influence upon the inner life of the British Army. Before going further with our narrative, it is expedient at this point to step aside and discuss in some detail an institution which still, but in a very different sense, constitutes an important factor in the economy of the Service. There is the greater satisfaction in doing this because the Army Agent, after an interesting historical career in which he rose from very small beginnings indeed to a position of great political and social eminence—an evolution attended by some not wholly desirable developments—has for a good many years past gone steadily forward in a straight groove of progress. To-day, as represented more particularly by one great firm, he not only forms an integral part of the machinery of Army administration, but is a power in the banking world, with a very numerous civilian as well as military clientele. There is, perhaps, no greater proof of the innate soundness of our military system, in regard more particularly to the well-being of the commissioned ranks, than that from such a doubtful origin as is about to be described there should have gradually arisen a stately fabric like the house of Cox & Co., a first-class bank in the fullest sense of the term, which rigidly observes banking principles, publishes a half-yearly balance-sheet—a performance which Army Agents a hundred years ago

would hardly have attempted—and at the same time contrives to keep alive that personal sentiment, the absence of which, as a rule, makes any military institution worthy of the name a very colourless and ephemeral affair.

In order to understand how the Army Agent came into existence we have to go back to very early times when the pay of the Army was distributed under a system strangely different from that in force to-day. As Fortescue has pointed out in an extremely interesting fashion in one of his lectures to the Staff College on "The British Army, 1783–1802," Army pay is really a relic of the days of the soldier adventurers who organized themselves in companies—of which Conan Doyle's "White Company" is an excellent example in fiction—for hire by such potentates as were at war with their neighbours. In these organizations the underlying principle generally, if not invariably, was the hope of prize-money, private or corporate, the former in connexion chiefly with individual loot or the lucky capture of a prisoner willing to give a good ransom. "But all corporate prize was divided on a fixed scale, according to the rank of every man, from the private to the Commander . . . in this way each grade of military rank possessed a pecuniary value, and could change hands like the shares in a joint-stock company."

When potentates came in due course to hire their own subjects instead of foreigners this idea of participation in possible prize-money still remained a governing principle. The Sovereign agreed, it is true, to pay a fixed sum for every soldier raised, and a fixed rate of pay as long as a corps continued in existence. But both the origin and the maintenance, first of the companies, afterwards of the regiments raised, was highly speculative. The Sovereign gave to "some leader of repute" a letter of service authorizing him to raise a given number of men in a stated time. Assuming that a regiment were to be

formed, the leader of repute proceeded to entrust a sufficient number of subordinates with the task of raising each, say, a company, the understanding being that a captain's commission would follow in due course. Captains, again, found others who brought in recruits on the understanding that they would receive commissions as subalterns. Of such a system there were two natural consequences. In the first place men could seldom be got to enlist without a bounty, and at times the price of recruits, often only obtainable through crimps, rose considerably, and would-be holders of commissioned rank had to pay out of their pockets a good deal beyond the sum allowed by the Sovereign for each soldier raised. Secondly, an officer having thus bought himself, as it were, into the Service, came to have a sort of vested interest in his commission, while the latter acquired more and more a distinct pecuniary value.

Such pay as was issued to the Army up to the commencement of the nineteenth century may be regarded from two standpoints. Essentially it was a pittance representing to the officers interest on the sums they had expended in obtaining their commissions, to the men a bare subsistence, with such clothing as their colonels chose to give them. But it was also, in Fortescue's felicitous phrase, " in the nature of a retaining fee against the day of prize-money ; less a wage for service done than a fund to enable the service to be performed ; rather the tools of a trade than the profits of a trade."

We may now pass on to the methods by which pay was distributed to the Army during the latter half of the seventeenth century, to which period the origin of Army Agencies is to be traced. The actual distribution was made by the Paymaster-General, who, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was to all intents a farmer of the revenue, providing the wherewithal to pay the troops until such time as he could recoup himself with handsome

additions from the public purse. Practically the only check which existed for many years upon the transactions between the Paymaster-General and the colonels of regiments was the Commissary-General of Musters and his staff of Commissaries or Muster-Masters. The mustering of troops, chiefly for the purpose of preventing personation, is a very old institution, and in Queen Elizabeth's Regulations, quoted by Colonel Clifford Walton, we find it explicitly laid down that " at every mustering or assembling the Captain's bill shall be called by the clarke, every man answering to his own name, marching forth as he is called, that no man unto two names make answer." The institution of the department of the Commissary-General of Musters enabled more or less accurate ideas of the effective strengths of corps to be formed, and, on the Commissary-General's certificate that so many authorized officers and men were in existence, the Paymaster-General issued the necessary sum, minus certain stoppages to which reference has been made in Chapter II., to the regiment.

It is at this point that we come in contact with the individual who afterwards grew to be an Army Agent. This was the colonel's clerk, who distributed the pay to officers commanding companies and kept the regimental accounts. The clerk was a civilian, and received no authorized pay except in the First and Second Foot Guards. But in other corps he soon became entitled to an unauthorized deduction of 2d. in the pound of the whole pay of the regiment. With " pickings " the post soon became a lucrative one, and, as such, was commonly sold by the colonel to the highest bidder, who, in addition, had to give bonds or securities for his honesty. Doubtless one reason why these billets were eagerly competed for was the slackness of the supervision exercised. Even when, in the time of James II, the " Colonel's Clark " had become the regimental Agent, the only vouchers he was called upon to produce were the acquittances of officers commanding companies.

"The whole system of military finance in the 17th century," writes Clifford Walton, "was one vast entanglement of fraud. Not only did the officers defraud the soldiers, but they defrauded the Government also, while the Government in turn defrauded both the Officers and the soldiers." It might be added that in a sense the Government and the Army conspired to defraud the country by such institutions, for instance, as the "paper" men, utterly fictitious individuals with fancy names, whose appearance on muster-rolls was authorized in order that the pay drawn for them might be devoted to this or that regimental purpose for which regular provision ought to have been made.

In such an atmosphere it is hardly surprising that the early regimental Agents rapidly went from bad to worse. At first the mere servants, later the tools, of their colonels, we find them at the close of the seventeenth century developing a considerable and rather notorious individuality. In the proceedings of the House of Commons for 1694 mention is made of the significant fact that in several cases Agents were acting for more than one regiment, one or two, indeed, being employed for no fewer than seven corps. Between 1694 and 1698 Parliament received numerous petitions on the subject of regimental Agents, who were charged not only with being "bloated pluralists," but with serious mishandling of the large sums entrusted to their care. Some, it appears, had kept back the men's pay and made profitable use of the money. Others had charged more for the discount of "tallies"—pay was issued by the Paymaster-General in the form not of cash but of "tallies," for the cashing of which discount was charged—than they had paid. Yet another malpractice was the bold plan of pretending that both officers and men were being paid in advance, the Agent charging an extortionate rate of interest for his services in finding the money.

Evidently men of substance and position found it worth

their while to become regimental Agents. The Agent to Wolseley's Inniskilling Horse, which was disbanded in 1698, was Sir William Fownes, M.P., and one of the main grievances of the N.C.O.s and troopers who petitioned Parliament against him was that he had used his influence as a Member of the House of Commons to burke an inquiry into his conduct.

The great difficulty of the Government and of Army head-quarters in regard to these regimental Agents was their non-military status. They were civilians pure and simple, and, further, were not even amenable to such discipline as the Controllers of Accounts were able to exercise over military expenditure. They could not be court-martialled, and could and did plead, if pushed into a corner, that they were merely the colonel's private servants. With these safeguards they waxed bolder and bolder, and in some cases stooped to great depths of meanness in order to get rich. Fortescue mentions one particularly heartless case in which a regimental Agent actually kept back the little allowance which a subaltern on active service had arranged for his wife to receive from the pay due to him. The latter apparently appealed to the Queen, and the Agent was compelled to disgorge.

If we revert to what was said a short time back as to the virtual purchase of commissions under cover of "letters of service," it will readily be understood that in this quarter a fresh and fruitful field of operations rapidly became opened to the regimental Agent. To some extent he may have suffered by the Regulation issued in 1711 forbidding any further grant of commissions to children, but the mere fact that a commission had a distinct pecuniary value, and that there were plenty of young fellows willing to pay a round sum for the certainty of receiving pay while their corps remained in existence, and half-pay until their services were again required—for that was the usual arrangement—was all in the regimental Agent's favour.

For, of course, the majority of transactions affecting the sale—it was commonly nothing else—of commissions would naturally pass through the hands of the regimental man of affairs, and, with all concerned very slack in their notions of business or honour or both, it could not have been difficult to reap a goodly harvest in a short time. Throughout the eighteenth century, then, the regimental Agent continued to prosper, the tendency being to abandon the petty profits attached to sharp practice in regard to pay, and to fly at higher game in the shape of lucrative transactions connected with letters of service and the traffic in recruits and commissions.

About the middle of the eighteenth century we find mention of the founder of the house of Cox & Co., Mr Richard Cox. In Colonel Gardiner's "Centurions of a Century" it is noted that Richard Cox was at one time secretary to John, Earl of Ligonier, whose career as Commander-in-Chief was briefly noted in Chapter V. Ligonier appointed Mr Cox regimental Agent to the First Foot Guards, and he had an office in Albemarle Street until 1765, when he removed to Craig's Court, subsequently taking into partnership Mr Greenwood, of whom we shall hear more presently. Cox & Co.'s old offices were in Craig's Court, and on a very different scale from the handsome buildings at 16 and 17 Charing Cross. Still, a good many officers now serving, and more retired, the writer among them, look back with affectionate remembrance to the Craig's Court establishment, cordially endorsing Colonel Gardiner's allusion to the "quivering subaltern who, with his account overdrawn, still had the courage to enter that office for another £5 note or so (time, the Ascot week in town)!"

With apologies for this anticipatory digression, we may linger awhile at the year 1794, in which, owing to the operations under the Duke of York in Flanders, there was a particularly lively traffic in commissions, and a corre-

sponding activity among the regimental Agents, or, as they now virtually became, Army brokers. At this point we begin to notice more particularly the effect of the " letter of service " system, not only upon the granting of first commissions, but also upon promotions; for naturally the latter were greatly influenced by the wrong-headed plan of offering Army rank in proportion to the number of recruits produced. Alluding to the manner in which the Army brokers took advantage of this system, Fortescue quotes a contemporary Guards' officer as saying " they would dance any beardless youth who would come up to their price from one newly raised corps to another, and for a greater douceur, by an exchange into an old regiment, procure him a permanent situation in the standing army." Even the keepers of gambling hells could procure commissions and promotions for their sons in this way, and officers who had been driven to sell out were sometimes able, by a run of luck at cards, to buy themselves into the Army again, even though their previous retirement had been due to misconduct.

Sir Harry Calvert, who served with the Army in the Low Countries in 1793–4 and afterwards became Adjutant-General, was, as a junior officer, much impressed by the evils of this system. Writing to Sir Hew Dalrymple, he says, " We want a total stop put to that pernicious mode of bestowing rank on officers without even the form of recommendation, merely for raising (by means of crimps) a certain number of men." He goes on to urge that an effort should be made " to relieve deserving officers from the intolerable grievance of seeing men without merit, without family, or the smallest pretensions to military ability, pass over their heads and arrive at a very high, and till now a very respectable rank in the Army, solely through the medium of a rascally crimp."

There is no question of Sir Harry Calvert's sincerity, any more than there is of the reality of the abuses of which

he complained, but it must in fairness be noted that Calvert himself was thought to have owed his subsequent advancement quite as much to a favourable side wind as to his own very real ability. The circumstance that only five months before he married the second daughter of Mr Thomas Hammersley of Pall Mall, and niece of Mr Greenwood of Cox & Greenwood, Army Agents, the Duke of York made him Adjutant-General, aroused a good deal of contemporary gossip. The Duke was known to be heavily indebted to Mr Greenwood's firm, and it was not unnatural that in such circumstances the appointment should be criticized. But, as a matter of fact, the selection was fully justified. If only half of what was said of him by those who knew him well is true, Sir Harry Calvert was a very fine specimen of an officer and a gentleman, and the house of Cox & Co., in which there is still a Hammersley, may well be proud of their century-old connexion with the Adjutant-Generalship of the British Army.

It was briefly noted in the last chapter that, at the commencement of the Duke's second term of office as Commander-in-Chief, the question of Army Agencies reached rather a critical stage. What happened was that in July 1812 Mr Cochrane Johnstone brought forward the subject for discussion, his proposition being that, owing to the growing concentration of regimental business in the hands of a few Agents, the failure of one of the latter might become quite a serious national calamity. As a matter of fact the failure of the Agent to a single corps used in bygone days to cause great inconvenience and considerable loss. But the business of the more successful Agents had, more especially of late, been expanding enormously. The case of Mr Greenwood's firm was notorious. In 1795, when the Duke of York was first made Commander-in-Chief, the firm was acting for twenty-five regiments. Seventeen years later it had become

Agents for one hundred and seventy-six battalions out of two hundred and eighty-four, besides fifteen militia regiments, and the branches under the Board of Ordnance. It was inferred that this extraordinary extension of the firm's operations had been assisted by the influence of the Duke of York, and public interest in the matter was aroused. But it so happened that at the moment, owing to arrears of accounts and audit, Mr Greenwood was actually the nation's creditor for a large amount, and this circumstance was, perhaps wisely, seized as an excuse for letting the subject drop.

At this point we may leave the Army Agencies with a parting word as to their present position and uses. It is vastly to their credit that long ago they completely extricated themselves from the entanglement of questionable practices into which they were led, largely no doubt by reason of their environment. There are now only three surviving firms of Army Agents, viz.: Messrs Cox & Co., Messrs Holt & Co., and Messrs Sir C. R. M'Grigor, Bart. & Co., of whom by far the largest is the first named. It is, as has been noted, a great up-to-date banking concern, with branches in India and an associated Shipping Agency. Its area of operations is, of course, much greater than was that of Cox & Greenwood in 1812, but, apart from the fact that all Army Agents are nowadays required to give very substantial security indeed, the strength of the firm's position as indicated by its published balance-sheets, and the sound banking lines on which its business is conducted, are of themselves sufficient guarantee that no sort of risk to the nation or the Army is now involved. The system, too, on which the business of Army Agents is conducted has entirely altered in the last hundred years. As regards the pay of the men, the Army, of course, has now its own Army Pay Department, and by regulation an officer, if he chooses to do so, can draw his pay through that department. But in the vast majority of cases

officers prefer to let the regimental Agents draw their pay, and make it the basis of a current banking account. The advantages of this system were demonstrated in a very striking fashion during the South African War, when Messrs Cox & Co. afforded to officers at the front facilities hitherto unheard of, which would be quite beyond the power of any official organization. In time of war it is often impossible to furnish returns, such as pay-lists, with regularity and punctuality. But, during the war, officers were never inconvenienced by the inevitable delay, thanks to Messrs Cox & Co.'s arrangements with the Standard Bank of South Africa, which enabled any officer to draw for the amount of a month's pay at a time at any of the Standard Bank's branches in South Africa. Many officers were detached from their Units for various purposes, and yet were always able to obtain their pay with the same facility as they could at home in times of peace.

Officers on active service frequently need money both for their own and the public service. At the same time, to carry about more money than they want is the last thing they wish to do. It will be seen that Messrs Cox & Co. met the requirements of the case by accepting cheques as evidence of existence, and waiting for the formal returns until their eventual arrival. It is obvious that in affording these valuable facilities a certain risk was run, but it is pleasant to be able to add that in practice it proved to be a very small one.

In the Service a widespread illusion exists that Army Agents draw the pay of officers three months in advance, and that the use of this money constitutes a very important source of profit. This is an utterly mistaken idea. The War Office only hands over to the Agents the pay of an officer the day before that on which he is entitled to draw it, and the Agents receive from the authorities no remuneration of any sort for acting as paymasters, or accountancy. That they should still be willing even in

war-time to afford their military clients the same accommodation as is given the mercantile community, and to run added risks in order to demonstrate the application of modern financial methods to army requirements, indicates pretty clearly that the present Army Agency system is as sound and progressive as any such system could well be.

CHAPTER X

THE GREAT PEACE

AFTER the death of the Duke of York the fascination which the Commander-in-Chiefship has had for several English Sovereigns attracted George IV, and for a time he was seriously inclined to take the office into his own hands. In a sort of way he had military predilections, and had been the colonel of the 10th Hussars since 1795. At the time of the invasion scare in 1803–5 he had pestered the King, the Duke of York, and Mr Secretary Addington for promotion, in order to enable him to take a more prominent position in connexion with the defence of the country. But the opportunity had been denied him, and subsequently the pursuit of pleasure and the business of the Regency had kept his military ambitions in the background. In the lifetime of the Duke of York two of the King's other brothers had thrown out suggestions as to the reversion to the Chiefship, but George IV had given them no encouragement, and had hinted to the Duke of Wellington that should a vacancy occur he would offer the appointment to his Grace. When, however, the Duke of York died, the King's former military ambitions were rekindled, and accordingly, taking Sir Herbert Taylor, who had been the Duke of York's Military Secretary, into his confidence he suggested that the Chiefship should be assumed by his Royal self, with Sir Herbert as Adjutant-General. Clearly his Majesty intended to be an absolute Army chief, and, realizing this, Sir Herbert Taylor saw a rock ahead

in the shape of the Secretaryship-at-War. However peremptorily the King as Commander-in-Chief might issue orders, and however readily Sir Herbert might as Adjutant-General communicate them to the Army, the Constitutional authority of the Secretary-at-War as Minister charged with the transaction of Army business could not be disregarded. Sir Herbert accordingly suggested that, if the King were to take upon himself the Chiefship, it would be a wise move to make sure that the Secretary-at-War was a military man. In that way his Majesty would not be likely to be unduly restricted, and at the same time Constitutional usage would be respected. The King was not pleased with this advice, and further objected to Sir Herbert's alternative suggestion that the assumption of the command of the Army by his Majesty should be qualified by the appointment of one of Wellington's most distinguished Generals as Chief of the Staff. George IV was shrewd enough to perceive that his idea of becoming a military autocrat would be upset by any such arrangement as this, and so eventually, after an interval of three weeks, during which Palmerston as Secretary-at-War issued the General Orders, the King consented to make the Duke of Wellington Commander-in-Chief.

The following is the text of the General Order, dated 23 January, 1827, and signed, "by his Majesty's Command," Henry Torrens, Adjutant-General: "The King feels that under the present afflicting circumstances his Majesty cannot more effectually supply the loss which the Nation and the Army have sustained than by appointing to the Chief Command of his Majesty's Forces Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, the great and distinguished General who has so often led the armies of the Nation to victory and glory, and whose high military renown is blended in the history of Europe."

Sir Henry Torrens hoped that Wellington would follow this up by a General Order in which the new Commander-in-Chief would dilate upon the virtues of his predecessor, and pledge himself to follow as far as possible in his footsteps. He even furnished the Duke with a draft General Order to this effect; but the Duke skilfully evaded the suggestion, and merely announced that "in obedience to H.M.'s most gracious command, Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington assumes the command of the Army, and earnestly requests the assistance and support of the General and other officers of the Army to maintain its discipline, good order, and high character"—surely one of the most laconic General Orders ever issued on an occasion of supreme importance.

The Duke of Wellington considered it a point of duty and mark of respect to his Royal predecessor to take over the whole of the latter's staff, but he quickly made it evident that in all future patronage he should be guided entirely by his own judgment, and that a high and rigid standard of merit, with careful recognition of the claims of active service, would henceforth be set up and maintained. He even directly opposed the King in regard to a colonelcy—that of the 4th Dragoon Guards—which his Majesty wished to confer upon a Major-General with no war record, who had been useful to the Government in Parliament. The Duke would not hear of it, and insisted on the appointment of Sir George Anson, one of his Peninsular brigadiers.

Stocqueler quotes some interesting examples of the Duke of Wellington's correspondence in regard to patronage, one of the letters being from Sir Walter Scott, who wanted "a poor Scotch hidalgo" admitted as an artillery cadet. "Your Grace," adds Sir Walter, with, as some of his countrymen may think, rather superfluous humility, "knows Scotland is a breeding,

not a feeding country, and we must send our sons abroad, as we send our black cattle to England."

The Great Duke's strong good sense and utter indifference to possible Court disfavour were well illustrated by his attitude towards an influential proposition that officers of the Army should subscribe towards the payment of the Duke of York's debts, estimated to amount to £200,000. He pointed out that the position of the General Officers of the Army alone precluded the serious consideration of any such proposal. "There may be from a dozen to twenty of us capable of subscribing a sum of money for any purpose. But the great majority of the General Officers have from £300 to £400 a year! How can it be supposed that men thus provided for can advance £300, or even £100, to pay the Duke of York's creditors?" In conclusion, after further reviewing the proposition, he says, "I earnestly deprecate it, and I may do it with the more freedom, as there are two persons now alive who knew that I was willing to come forward, if others would, to arrange the Duke's debts some years ago, if he would have allowed of their being arranged."

Wellington's first tenure of the Chiefship was a very short one, lasting only from January to April 1827, the circumstances in which it was terminated being somewhat peculiar. At the time of his appointment the Duke had been a member of the Earl of Liverpool's Ministry, which, as Bright remarks, had from the first been a Government of compromise, but was now seriously divided over the Catholic Emancipation Bill. On the one side was Canning with his followers, including Palmerston, the Secretary-at-War, and Huskisson, who was shortly to become Secretary of State for War and the Colonies; and on the other the high Tory or Protestant party, headed by Lord Liverpool himself, and including the Duke of Wellington. Had Lord

Liverpool remained Prime Minister the Duke of Wellington's position as Commander-in-Chief would have been strengthened by the presence at the head of affairs not only of a friend and colleague, but of a former Secretary of State for War. But in February 1827 the Earl of Liverpool was seized with an apoplectic fit, and the following April the King summoned Canning and asked him to form an Administration. Thereupon the Duke of Wellington, not caring to have Canning over him, withdrew from the Ministry, and resigned the Commander-in-Chiefship.

It should be explained that the Chiefship was *per se* no longer a political office, but the Duke felt that he could not hold the post with satisfaction to himself under a Government of which Canning was the head. There was a distinction in his mind between serving in the same Ministry with Canning and in having intercourse with him as a subordinate, and the Duke was not the man to let love of office outweigh his personal susceptibilities in a matter of this sort. Accordingly, four months after the death of the Duke of York, the Chiefship again became vacant, and for yet another four months no successor was appointed. During this period the King again tried to make his advisers fall in with the idea of his assuming the Chiefship, and again failed to secure their concurrence. During this truly uncomfortable period the Secretary-at-War once more issued the General Orders, Sir Herbert Taylor being temporarily appointed Deputy-Secretary. Parliament seized the opportunity of making a dead set at the Army, and reductions were threatened which were profoundly distasteful to the head-quarters staff. "We do want you here sadly," wrote Sir Herbert privately to the Duke, and the latter must have felt galled indeed to think what a brief spell of useful authority he had enjoyed.

Suddenly the whole situation was altered in August by the death of Canning. Lord Goderich, who had been Secretary of State for War and the Colonies under Canning, was called upon by the King to form a Government, and the King, finding his own military aspirations effectively baulked, asked Wellington to resume the command of the Army. The Duke consented, being possibly assisted to that decision by the knowledge that in any conflict of opinion with "Goody Goderich," the weakest man who ever became Prime Minister in this country, his own was likely to prove by far the stronger will. On 28 August, only eleven days after the King had offered Wellington the Chiefship, the Adjutant-General, Sir Henry Torrens, died, and the Duke appointed Sir Herbert Taylor to succeed him. Sir J. Willoughby Gordon was re-appointed Quartermaster-General, and the Military Secretaryship fell to the gallant, distinguished, and tactful Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who had married a daughter of the Duke's brother, Lord Mornington. Fitzroy Somerset had lost an arm at Waterloo, and was very popular with the officers of the Army. The latter, proud as they were of Wellington's great fame, and glad as they may have been to have him as their figurehead, were not enamoured of his cold bearing and irritable temper, and it was said that no one would care to see the Chief who could obtain a decision from the Military Secretary, a preference which has not always been evinced in regard to later holders of the two appointments.

In January 1828 another upset took place, on the resignation of Lord Goderich of the seals of office. After several unsuccessful attempts to replace him, the King, on the advice of Lord Lyndhurst, sent for the Duke of Wellington, who proceeded forthwith to form a Tory Ministry. In those days many things were possible in politics which would seem strange to-day, but to

double the parts of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief was obviously out of the question. The Duke accordingly relinquished the Chiefship after arranging for its transfer to the most trusted of his Peninsula and Waterloo Generals, Lord Hill. In doing so he made the qualification that, as Lord Hill was not at the head of the Army List, he should be, not Commander-in-Chief, but General Commanding-in-Chief, a distinction which continued to be observed until November 1887, when a patent as Commander-in-Chief was granted to the Duke of Cambridge.

Lord Hill's was a delightful personality, quite apart from his great merit as a level-headed commander, brave and resolute, and entirely to be depended upon in the carrying out of his great leader's orders. A stoutish, florid man, he was often called "Farmer Hill," in allusion to his appearance, but he was "Daddy Hill" to the Army, by which he was held in much affectionate esteem. He had all the best qualities, as well as the bearing, of an English country gentleman, and in politics was a staunch Tory of the old school. But he never allowed politics to influence him unduly in the discharge of his military duties, and his administration of the Horse Guards was conspicuous for its fairness. He was a kindly man, but he was a great stickler for discipline, and dealt severely with any neglect of duty or exhibition of doubtful loyalty. On a colonel who had allowed speeches alluding offensively to the Throne to be made in his hearing, "Daddy" Hill descended heavily. He also court-martialled the unfortunate Colonel Brereton for not acting effectively in aid of the civil power on the occasion of the Bristol Riots in 1830, a proceeding which resulted in Brereton's suicide. Finally, his kindness of heart did not interfere with his opposition to the Parliamentary movement in favour of restricted flogging in the Army, which met with some success during his tenure of the Chiefship.

The two great difficulties with which Lord Hill was called upon to deal during his fourteen years' rule at the Horse Guards were riots and disturbances at home and abroad, and Parliamentary interference. To some extent one arose out of the other, for repeatedly when the troops were called out in aid of the civil power the Government Press made a point of criticizing the action of the military authorities, and censorious discussion in the House of Commons followed as a matter of course. This and the growing intrusion of the civilian element into the management of Army affairs was naturally distasteful to a man of Hill's temperament, but on the whole he may be said to have enjoyed a singularly easy and pleasant tenure. The latter is credited with a variety of useful measures, including the institution of distinguished service rewards to the amount of £18,000 a year; the grant of half-pay to officers holding civil appointments; the abolition of fees payable on Army commissions; the establishment of garrison libraries; the dissemination of religious instruction in the Army; and the abolition of degrading punishments in military prisons. Lord Hill resigned the Chiefship in 1842 on account of ill-health, and died in December of that year.

We have now to turn aside to the record of what may still be termed the civilian side of the War Office, although that record includes, as will be seen, two very distinguished military names. Reverting to 1827, we find that in April of that year, Frederick John Robinson, Viscount Goderich, afterwards first Earl of Ripon, became Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, in succession to Earl Bathurst. We have already encountered "Goody Goderich" (also known as "Prosperity Robinson," by reason of his sanguine forecasts as Chancellor of the Exchequer), and need not concern ourselves greatly with either his present four months' association with the War Office, or with his second term as War and Colonial

Minister from 1830 to 1833. "An amiable, upright, irresolute man of respectable abilities and business-like habits," his chief claim to consideration from the military standpoint lies in his being one of a numerous line of politicians who have risen from being Secretary of State for War or Secretary-at-War to be Prime Minister. When on the death of Canning he was summoned by the King to form a Ministry he was succeeded as War and Colonial Secretary by William Huskisson, who had already served for some years as Under-Secretary of State under Henry Dundas. Huskisson was a staunch adherent of Canning and a man of great talent and business-like aptitude, but a failure as a statesman. He fell out with Wellington, and for several years the estrangement was complete. A reconciliation was planned in 1830 by a mutual friend at the opening of the first great railway in England, between Manchester and Liverpool, at which both Wellington as Prime Minister and Huskisson, now out of office, were present. In the act of greeting his former friend, Huskisson stumbled on the line, and was so severely injured that he died the same evening.

For a few months in 1830, previously to Lord Goderich's second term, General Sir George Murray held the portfolio of War and the Colonies. This was Wellington's old Quartermaster-General in the Peninsula, a most able staff officer, who had recently held in succession the Governorship of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Ordnance, and the chief command in Ireland. He entered Parliament as Member for Perth County, and made a distinct mark in politics as a skilful debater and useful office man.

From 1833 to 1834 Edward Geoffrey Stanley, afterwards, as Earl of Derby, Prime Minister, was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, holding the same post later in 1841 in Peel's Administration. An excellent scholar, he translated the Iliad into verse with considerable success,

and was a man of delightful manner tempered by a certain aloofness. His immediate successor for a few months in 1834 was the genial and accomplished Spring-Rice, afterwards first Baron Monteagle, who became Secretary of State for War in Lord Melbourne's first short-lived Whig Ministry. Another brief tenure of the office followed, that of George Hamilton Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen, who went out with his leaders, Peel and Wellington, early in 1835.

In Lord Melbourne's second Administration the Secretaryship of State for War and the Colonies fell to Charles Grant, who almost immediately became Lord Glenelg. Glenelg's time was chiefly taken up with colonial affairs, particularly those of Canada and South Africa, in his handling of which he was not fortunate. It is, however, to his credit that in his term of office West Indian slavery was totally abolished. Glenelg remained War and Colonial Minister until 1839, when for a few months Constantine Henry, first Marquess of Normanby, held the portfolio under Lord Melbourne. The Ministry, now in the last stage of weakness, was defeated in May, and Melbourne having resigned, Queen Victoria, among whose Bedchamber women was Lady Normanby, summoned the Marquess in the hope that he might be able to form an Administration. This he failed to do, and a queer political situation was produced. Peel was sent for, but declined to take office unless Lady Normanby and Lady Morpeth were removed from the Queen's household. The Queen objected, and so recourse had to be made again to the Whigs, and Melbourne returned to office, "behind the petticoats of the ladies of the Bedchamber." Normanby resumed his former place, but was so weak and halting that he had to be transferred to the Home Office, being succeeded by Lord John, afterwards Earl, Russell. Russell, like Glenelg, was compelled to devote his attention largely to the Colonies, his term being distinguished by the absorp-

tion of New Zealand into the British Empire and the formulation of the British claim to the whole of Australia. In 1841, as previously noted, Lord Stanley's second term as Secretary of State for War commenced, thus bringing us into the period of the Duke of Wellington's final tenure of the Commander-in-Chiefship, which opened in 1842.

We must now retrace our steps a second time in order to make our list of Secretaries-at-War coincide with those of the Commanders-in-Chief and Secretaries of State. This is the more necessary as it is evident that the Secretary-at-War throughout this period was a person of far more real military importance than the Secretary of State for War and Colonies, who, during an era of peace, almost naturally concentrated his attention upon the Colonial side of his office. The Secretary-at-War frequently, though not invariably, had a seat in the Cabinet, and not only did he answer for the War Office in Parliament, but also, as we have seen, issued the General Orders to the Army during the intervals in which there was no Commander-in-Chief.

When Palmerston's long term as Secretary-at-War came to an end in 1828, he was succeeded by General Sir Henry, afterwards Viscount, Hardinge, Governor-General of India, and Commander-in-Chief at home. Hardinge's notable military career does not come within the scope of this volume, but he was as popular at the War Office as he was in the Army, and ably seconded Lord Hill in the work of military administration between 1828 and 1830. The Duke of Wellington was very fond of Hardinge, who acted as his second in his historic duel with Lord Winchilsea. Towards the close of Lord Hill's tenure of the Chiefship, Hardinge again became Secretary-at-War, retaining the post from 1841 to 1844.

For a few months in 1830 Lord Francis Leveson-Gower, afterwards first Earl of Ellesmere, was Secretary-at-War, a poet and patron of men of genius, who subsequently

wrote a good deal about National Defence, Wellington, and the War in the Crimea, but left no very distinct mark. He was succeeded by Charles Watkins William Wynn, a most impracticable person, who contrived to make himself objectionable to both Wellington and Canning, and was turned out of office by the former in 1831.

From 1831 to 1832 the Secretaryship-at-War was held by Henry Brooke Parnell, afterwards first Baron Congleton, who had a plan for reducing the Army Estimates by £600,000 a year, which, however, did not commend itself to the Government headed by Lord Grey. Shortly afterwards, as he would not support the Ministry on the Russo-Dutch War Question, he was dismissed from office, being succeeded by Byron's friend, John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton. Hobhouse was quite a vigorous reformer, and managed, in the face of Horse Guards opposition, to abolish several sinecures and to reduce the "dead list" charges. Finding himself unable to carry out his views fully he exchanged to the Irish Chief Secretaryship, being succeeded by Edward Ellice, who also had "views" on Army administration. Ellice's idea of securing the responsibility of the Secretary-at-War to Parliament was to place the making of all Army appointments directly into the Secretary's hands, a proposal which Wellington, as might have been expected, steadily opposed. He was, at any rate, a very clean-handed office man, and it is said that his sole political acquisition was the Secretary-at-War's silver inkstand, which, in accordance with the custom of the time, he was allowed to retain on leaving office.

From 1834 to 1835 John Charles Herries was Secretary-at-War in Peel's first Administration. He had been Commissary-in-Chief, and, when that office was abolished by Treasury Minute in 1816, he was warmly complimented on the manner in which he had discharged his duties, one of which had been the collection, in co-operation

with Nathan Meyer Rothschild, of French specie for the use of Wellington's army. Between 1835 and 1841, when, as noted above, Sir Henry Hardinge commenced a second term, two men of eminence in other directions were Secretaries-at-War, Lord Howick, afterwards Earl Grey, whom we shall meet later as Secretary of State, and Thomas Babington, afterwards Lord, Macaulay, who came to the office in 1839 as a member of Lord Melbourne's Cabinet, but did not leave on it any impression comparable with that he created either as a historian or as the parent of the Indian Penal Code. Perhaps his most serious task—by no means a light or pleasant one—was his defence in Parliament of Lord Cardigan, whom it was sought to remove from his command owing to a variety of notorious irregularities. The case was chiefly interesting in that the question of the purchase of commissions was closely involved in it, a matter to which separate attention will be devoted in another chapter.

CHAPTER XI

THE IRON DUKE

WHEN Lord Hill resigned the Command-in-Chiefship in 1842 it was again taken up by the Duke of Wellington, and retained by him until his death in September 1852. In the history of the British Army, as distinct from the War Office, this period is a very depressing one. Already during the tenure of the Chiefship by Lord Hill there had been signs of a reaction after the Great War. The country was frankly tired of military questions, and to a great extent had lost interest in the Army which had served it so well. The assistance of troops was only necessary for the suppresion of riots and disturbances, a connexion which was hardly a popular one, and both in Parliament and out of it there was a general disposition to keep down Army expenditure as much as possible. The Estimates were at a very low figure, and they were passed with little or no discussion. Speaking of the year 1840, when, as noted in the preceding chapter, Macaulay was Secretary-at-War, his biographer, Trevelyan, remarks that the House of Commons spent upon the Army little of its own time or of the nation's money. A concrete illustration of this attitude is given in a letter written by Macaulay himself, in which he describes the easy and successful passage of his Estimates, complacently observing that he got his six millions in an hour or two.

The Duke of Wellington's resumption of the Chiefship produced, of itself, no sort of improvement as far

as the general condition of the Army was concerned. The public apathy in regard to that condition continued, such defensive institutions as remained were allowed to fall into desuetude; there was no militia, there were no volunteers, and no reserves of any kind. Nor did the Great Duke make any sort of effort personally to bring the national defences up to the level of what might at comparatively short notice have proved very possible requirements. On the contrary he let things go from bad to worse, and in several directions checked what should have been normal progress by the obstructive display, more especially in regard to armaments, of a somewhat bigoted conservatism. In the welfare of the soldier he displayed singularly little interest, unless almost forced to take action by pressure of circumstances or by the insistence of a zealous Secretary-at-War like Sidney Herbert. But for the latter's generous enthusiasm it is much to be feared that the condition of the ranks at the middle of the nineteenth century would have remained very much what it was during the war in the Peninsula, and it must be sorrowfully admitted that, notwithstanding his immeasurable superiority in regard to almost every military attribute, the Great Duke, with equal powers and authority, did not do a quarter as much for the Army at large as the Duke of York.

The truth is that Wellington was both constitutionally and by reason of his antecedents unfitted to be Commander-in-Chief during a period of reaction like this. A Tory aristocrat of aristocrats, he had also just spent some fourteen years as a leading player in the great game of politics, and his deep and abiding interest in that game is as fully attested by his correspondence as his military genius is by his "Despatches." When we think what it means to turn from the holding of a great political office, from active participation in

TWO ROYAL COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF

H.R.H. FREDERICK, DUKE OF YORK (1795-1826) AND H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE (1856-1895)

the *Sturm und Drang* of party strife, from the enjoyment of intimate knowledge of all the great international movements of the day, to a comparatively circumscribed sphere of action such as the Commander-in-Chiefship in a time of peace following a great war, our surprise at the Duke's abstention from any display of reforming zeal during the last decade of his great career is lessened. Be this as it may, his resumption of his old duties did nothing to help the Army along the path of progress; and, while he remained a great figure-head, he was by no means an active, and hardly even a useful Commander-in-Chief during the last years of his life. Sir Frederick Maurice states frankly that practically all his work was done by others, and that his familiar daily ride to the Horse Guards ended in little more than a daily doze when there. The partial result was a legacy of unpreparedness and want of organization with which those who came after him found themselves grievously cumbered when, after half a century of peace, Europe once more flamed into war.

The Duke's Adjutant-General during the first eight years of his last tenure of the Chiefship was Lieutenant-General Sir John Macdonald, who had succeeded Sir Herbert Taylor in 1830, and was in turn succeeded in 1850 by Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown. Sir John Macdonald's principal characteristic seems to have been a conservatism closely allied to that of his chief. His personality as a Horse Guards official was largely overshadowed by that of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who, as before, was not only Military Secretary but Wellington's familiar friend, and in many ways acted as his representative. The bond between the two was a very close one, and probably to no one did the Iron Duke unbend more freely than to this trusted assistant, relative by marriage, and old comrade-in-arms. Fitzroy Somerset on his part was utterly devoted to Wellington,

who after Waterloo had paid him one of the most delicate compliments imaginable. Somerset had lost his right arm in the great battle, and might well have believed his career as a staff officer to an exacting leader ended. But the Duke replaced him temporarily with another one-armed man, as a suggestion to his old Military Secretary that his lost arm was no bar to his resumption of his duties. Fitzroy Somerset gratefully took the hint, and promptly set to work to master the art of writing easily and clearly with his left hand.

Much of the Duke's time as Commander-in-Chief was taken up in settling appointments and dealing with matters of discipline such as nowadays would be dealt with almost exclusively by the Selection Board or the Adjutant-General. In regard to appointments, it cannot be said that he exhibited the same fairness and strict regard for purely military claims as characterized his exercise of patronage in 1827. As a matter of fact he frequently allowed himself to be influenced by political and social considerations to an extent the more regrettable as there were scores of veterans available whom even a modest appointment would have saved from a penurious old age. Stocqueler puts the case plainly when he says, "The Duke of Wellington favoured the Tory aristocracy and his family connexions. The Beauforts, Westmorelands, and Pakenhams, and all political adherents, divided the loaves and fishes amongst them to a very large extent, while the officers who were notorious for Liberal opinions were left out in the cold. Sir De Lacy Evans was passed over sixteen times when there was a colonelcy to give away."

It is also recorded that the Duke seldom interfered with the findings of a court-martial unless weighty political or social influence was brought to bear on him. As a rule he had great faith in courts-martial, so much so, indeed, that he strongly deprecated the exercise

by officers of their right to be supported by a legal "friend," his idea being that the accused ought to rely solely on the integrity of members of their own profession.

Although he had himself acted as a principal in an affair of honour, the Duke recognized in 1843 the necessity of putting a stop to the practice of military duelling, as to which public opinion had been greatly exercised by a meeting between Colonel the Earl of Cardigan and one of his own subalterns, in which the latter was wounded. The section in the Army Act which lays it down that, apart from the liability to be tried on a murder charge if death ensues, an officer may be cashiered even for being concerned in, or conniving at, the fighting of a duel, owes its origin to the personal intervention of the Duke of Wellington.

In yet another direction the Duke allowed his conservatism to be influenced by the altered requirements of the day, with the result that in 1849 a terrifying edict was issued from the Horse Guards demanding that in future all candidates for commissions should pass an examination in History and Geography, Algebra, Euclid, French, Latin, Field Fortification, Spelling, and Handwriting. As, hitherto, practically the sole qualification of a candidate for what was known as the "Horse Guards List" was the competency of some relative or friend to pay £840 for a cornetcy, or £450 for an ensigncy, the new order created widespread consternation. Remonstrances proved entirely unavailing. The only comfort which Lord Fitzroy Somerset offered was that a certain amount of judicious "cramming" would enable the "Syllabus" to be successfully tackled, and the "Army coach" forthwith sprang into being, much as Pallas sprang fully armed from the brain of Zeus. Many candidates' names were removed in blank despair from the "List," and among

those who bravely submitted themselves to the ordeal there was considerable slaughter, History and Geography proving especially severe obstacles to military ambition. But the education test had come to stay, and on the basis of the Horse Guards Syllabus of 1849 there has since been erected a fabric of military education for officers which, defects and evasions notwithstanding, produces perhaps as good a combination of intellectual and physical capacity as is possible in a nation like ours.

For the rest, the arrangements made for the disposition of troops in anticipation of Chartist disturbances in 1848, and a variety of changes of uniform, constitute the chief achievements of the military side of the War Office between 1842 and 1852. In 1850 the Adjutant-General, Sir John Macdonald, died, and a proposal was brought forward to the effect that henceforth the offices of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General should be combined in a Chief of the Staff. The Duke objected to this, but thought that the plan might work if the Prince Consort, as representing the Sovereign, were to succeed himself as Commander-in-Chief. Wellington never seemed to relish the idea of being succeeded in the Chiefship by anyone but Prince Albert, and doubtless the latter would have discharged the duties of the post with admirable thoroughness and good sense. But there were obvious objections, and the Prince himself was far too wise to urge any personal predilections he might have on the subject. Both the proposals formulated fell through accordingly, and Sir George Brown was appointed to succeed Sir John Macdonald, the Quartermaster-Generalship falling the next year to Sir James Freeth. We shall come again into contact with these two officials a little later as both were still at the Horse Guards when the Duke died and his place was taken by Lord Hardinge.

The record of the civil side of the War Office now

claims attention, and in some respects is more worthy of it than the military chronicle of this uneventful period. The mere fact that it introduces the name of Sidney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea, lifts the record to a higher level, and goes far to neutralize much of the prejudice which has always, and very naturally, existed in regard to "civilian interference" with the Army. Other good, and some great, names are associated with the civilian administration of the War Office during this decade, and a link between it and the present generation is formed by the fact that the possessors of two of them, Grey and Gladstone, died within seven and three years respectively of the commencement of the twentieth century.

When Wellington succeeded Lord Hill, Lord Stanley was still Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and continued to hold that office until December 1845, when Gladstone, who had resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trade in February because he could not approve of the Maynooth Grant, rejoined Peel's Government in Stanley's place, the latter—now Lord Stanley of Bickerstaffe—having resigned over the repeal of the Corn Laws. Gladstone's tenure of the War and Colonial portfolio was a peculiar one. When appointed he was Member for Newark, but he did not offer himself for re-election, and so during the session of 1846 he was a Cabinet Minister and departmental head without a seat in Parliament. Lord Morley, his biographer, happily describes the session in question as one not of argument but of Lobby computations, and in such circumstances there was no chance for the young War and Colonial Secretary—now thirty-seven years of age—to win distinction. In December 1846 Peel offered to resign, having changed his mind about the Corn Laws which he now saw would have to go, and Lord John Russell tried to form a Ministry. The attempt failed because

Earl Grey, who as Lord Howick had been Secretary-at-War from 1835 to 1839, had taken fright at Palmerston's foreign policy and would not join a Cabinet in which he was Foreign Secretary. Peel therefore remained in office another six months, in the course of which he succeeded in totally repealing the Corn Laws, thereby bringing about his own downfall at the hands of the agricultural interest. On Peel's resignation of office Lord Grey withdrew his objections to the appointment of Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell succeeded in forming a Ministry, and Grey himself joined it as Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. Although of a very critical and argumentative turn of mind, Grey managed to work quite amicably with Palmerston, and it is said that no one not knowing the facts would have imagined that there had been any disagreement between them. He retained his portfolio for nearly six years, being succeeded by Sir John Somerset Pakington, afterwards Lord Hampton, who held office only for a short time in 1852, but had, as will be noted later, a second tenure in 1857.

Having brought our list of Secretaries of State up to the year in which the Great Duke died, we have now to do the same for the Secretaries-at-War, commencing with Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, afterwards first Baron Cottesloe, who succeeded Lord Hardinge at the close of the latter's term in 1844. Sir Thomas Fremantle was the son of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Fremantle, G.C.B., and came to the War Office from the Treasury, leaving it in 1846 to become Chief Secretary for Ireland.

In 1846 Sidney Herbert commenced his association with the War Office, an association to be renewed in a second term as Secretary-at-War in 1852, and crowned by two years' noble service as Secretary of State for War from 1859 to 1861. Herbert had previously been Secretary to the Admiralty, and in that capacity had completely

reorganized the Royal Naval School at Greenwich. On taking up his duties as Secretary-at-War he promptly turned his attention to the state of education in the Army, which, notwithstanding the worthy commencement made by the Duke of York over thirty years previously, was still in a deplorable state. Herbert's first step was to effect a thorough reform of the Duke of York's School itself. He then proceeded, as his biographer, Lord Stanmore, says, to convert into realities the regimental schools which had long existed in name, but were in a condition of hopeless inefficiency. The trouble lay in the selection of the schoolmaster, which was left to the commanding officer, himself very probably quite imperfectly educated, the practice being to appoint a man of the regiment as schoolmaster-serjeant. Some idea of the efficiency of this system may be gathered from the statement of an officer who joined in 1826, that the Serjeant-Major of his regiment could neither read nor write! Sidney Herbert took a great step forward when in 1846 he grafted on to the Duke of York's School at Chelsea a Normal School for the purpose of training students for the post of Army schoolmaster. Later the Chaplain-General was appointed Inspector-General of Army Schools, and in 1849 a General Order was issued ordering all recruits to attend school for two hours daily until dismissed drill. In 1859, during Lord Herbert's term of office as Secretary of State for War, it became possible to lay it down as a general rule that, except in the field, no soldier was to become even a corporal unless he were tolerably proficient in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

But Herbert's restless energy was not confined even during the sixteen months of his first term as Secretary-at-War to educational improvements. It troubled him to note how completely the militia had dropped out of existence, and, if he could have had his way, an important and useful step in that direction also would have been

taken. As it was, he endeavoured quietly to restore to working order the machinery of the Militia Ballot, and communicated with the Master-General of the Ordnance as to the provision of arms and clothing for a militia force of thirty thousand men. But the Bill which was to give effect to the scheme, though drafted, was not introduced, possibly owing to the opposition of the Duke of Wellington.

The Commander-in-Chief, however, approved, with some modifications, another notable scheme prepared by Herbert with the object of improving the position of serjeants, and greatly extending the system under which rewards for good service were granted to non-commissioned officers and men. One cannot help wondering whether, in reading Herbert's generous Memorandum on the subject, the Duke felt any qualms of conscience in his own rather scant regard for the well-being of his old soldiers. Unlike the Militia Bill this scheme went through, and a Royal Warrant embodying it was duly promulgated.

Sidney Herbert, having gone out with Peel in July 1846, was succeeded by Fox Maule, afterwards second Baron Panmure and eleventh Earl of Dalhousie, whom we shall meet again later as Secretary of State for War during the Crimean period. Fox Maule had spent twelve years in the Army, and almost fourteen years previously to his appointment as Secretary-at-War in Lord John Russell's Administration he had retired as a captain from the 79th, now the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders. He remained in office until 1852, unostentatiously endeavouring to some extent to follow in the footsteps of Sidney Herbert, to whose reforms he paid a generous tribute of appreciation. In 1852 there were two very short tenures of the Secretaryship-at-War prior to Sidney Herbert's resumption of the office. One of these, which only lasted three weeks, was that of Robert Vernon Smith, afterwards Lord Lyveden, who had been Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies under Lord Melbourne in 1839–41.

Robert Vernon Smith was the son of Sydney Smith's brother "Bobus," to whom many affectionate references are made in the Canon's "Memoirs." Between his brief spell of office and Herbert's return was sandwiched the equally unimportant tenure of William Beresford, great-grandson of the first Earl of Tyrone, and father of General Mostyn de la Poer Beresford, who served with the 72nd Highlanders in the Crimea and subsequently commanded the regiment.

CHAPTER XII

PRE-CRIMEA DAYS

WHEN the Duke of Wellington died, the young Queen Victoria experienced very great difficulty indeed in selecting his successor in the chief command of the Army. The Prince Consort had already been ruled out, and none of the most prominent of Wellington's lieutenants in the Peninsular War seemed at all fully capable of filling the place which "the Duke" had occupied at any rate with obvious fitness and surpassing dignity. After a perplexing interval the Queen's choice fell upon Viscount Hardinge, who had returned in 1848 from India—where he had spent four years as Governor-General—and who, seven months previously, had been made Master-General of the Ordnance. Lord Hardinge was now sixty-seven years of age and had been in the army for over fifty. He had become captain by purchase in the 57th Regiment in 1804, and was beside Moore when the latter received his fatal wound at Coruña. He served with the Portuguese army as Deputy-Quartermaster-General at Busaco and Albuera, and was later present at other of the great Peninsular battles, including Salamanca and Vittoria. In 1815 he was British Military Commissioner at Blucher's head-quarters in the Waterloo campaign, being so badly wounded in the hand at Ligny that it had to be amputated. In 1823 he was Clerk to the Ordnance. Wellington always regarded him as "a sound Staff Officer," and in Parliamentary and departmental life—his two tenures of the Secretaryship-at-War have been duly recorded—he proved

himself a thoroughly useful, straightforward man of affairs.

In 1844, Lord, then Sir Henry Hardinge, had been sent as Governor-General to India in place of his brother-in-law, Lord Ellenborough, and in the following year found himself at grips with the Sikhs, the one remaining Hindu power in India. The First Sikh War is memorable for the rapidity with which the Sikh invasion of our territory was met by a British advance, and followed in a few weeks by the four bloody battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, the last of which drove the Sikhs finally back over the Sutlej. But it is also remarkable for the high-minded attitude of the Governor-General, who accompanied the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, to the frontier, but studiously refrained from asserting himself, and did much by wise counsel to moderate the gallant but reckless Gough's impetuosity. Lord Hardinge handed over an apparently peaceful India to his great successor, Dalhousie, but made, as events showed, a singularly bad forecast when he predicted that it would not be necessary to fire a gun in the country for seven years to come.

In February 1852 Lord Hardinge, who had re-entered Parliament, was given the Master-Generalship of the Ordnance by Lord Derby, although the two were politically opposed, more particularly in the matter of Free Trade. The correspondence in which the appointment was offered and accepted is interesting as an example of transparent political sincerity and high principle. As Master-General of the Ordnance Hardinge quickly made an impression. On taking over the post he found that in the whole of Great Britain there were only some fifty guns fit for service, and none of these were of a later date than Waterloo. He urged—and the Government accepted the proposition—that the manufacture of 300 guns and 200 ammunition wagons should be put in hand at once, and it was entirely due to this prompt action on Hardinge's

part that two years later the expedition to the Crimea was able to take nearly 80 guns with it.

In September 1852 the Duke of Wellington died, and, as noted above, Lord Hardinge was selected to succeed him, being gazetted, like Lord Hill, General Commanding-in-Chief. One of his earliest measures was to extend the good work he had done at the Ordnance by introducing, in collaboration with Fitzroy Somerset, now Lord Raglan, who had succeeded him as Master-General, and Sidney Herbert, now for a second time Secretary-at-War, a notable improvement in small-arms armament. The old smooth-bore musket had been superseded by the Minié rifle, the ammunition for which, however, was not satisfactory, and a useful advance was effected by the introduction, in 1853, of the Enfield rifle and ammunition, which in the Crimean war, to use the picturesque words of the "Times" Correspondent, "smote the enemy like a destroying angel." As a sequel to this, two important new establishments came into being, and subsequently into considerable prominence, the Royal Small-arms Factory near Enfield Lock, and the School of Musketry, Hythe. The former, though not of such impressiveness or antiquity as Woolwich Arsenal—the Royal Laboratory at Woolwich was at work as far back as 1746, "making fireworks for real use"—has had a notable career, and is constantly at work producing not only rifles but machine-guns, bayonets, swords, etc. The School of Musketry, too, not only provides a succession of courses of instruction for officers, warrant-officers, colour-serjeants, and serjeants, but is a centre at which all the available knowledge concerning musketry training and practice is focused by a specially selected and always extremely efficient little staff.

Another troublesome legacy of the inert Wellingtonian régime was the complete absence of any proper system of field training, such things as manœuvres or camps of instruction being quite unknown. This was the more

objectionable, as only a very few of the regiments at home had seen any service since 1815, and even these had been employed under un-European conditions in India, China, and South Africa. Lord Hardinge, with Sidney Herbert's full concurrence, asked for a special vote of about £15,000 to remedy this state of affairs by the institution of a great Camp of Instruction in the neighbourhood of Chobham in Surrey. The Camp was duly formed in the middle of June 1853, and was the subject of a number of humorous anticipations and comments, especially in "Punch," the contemporary issues of which are crowded with allusions to the novel experiment. Indeed, the whole Preface to Volume xxiv. consists of a mock letter from Lord Hardinge to Mr. Punch, desiring the latter "that he will, at the promptest military time, cause to be delivered at the Camp at Chobham no less than Ten Copies" of the new volume, "all the other twenty-three volumes, as I have made it my duty to know, being in the possession of every soldier encamped there, and making an inseparable part of his daily baggage."

The July of 1853 was a particularly wet month, and the manœuvres in connexion with the Camp suffered accordingly. The troops cheerfully underwent great discomforts, proving, as "Punch" said, that they could not only stand fire but also stand water with astonishing bravery. An excellent spirit was exhibited, and, when the time came for breaking up the Camp, there was a strong and general feeling that very real benefits had been secured. To quote the final verse of "Punch's" farewell ode :—

> "The object was good and the object is gained,
> Right sound is the teaching the troops have obtained;
> And we'll mark that M.P. for a short-sighted scamp
> Who grudges one mil for the Chobhamite Camp."

An important result of the Chobham assembly of troops was the purchase very shortly afterwards of 9000 acres

of Hampshire moorland, which has since developed into Aldershot Camp, for many years the main centre of British military life, and, at the time of writing, the head-quarters of a Cavalry Brigade and of two Infantry Divisions.

It will thus be seen that, apart from the Crimean War, his relation with which will be discussed in a separate chapter, Lord Hardinge in the short period of his Chief-ship—he died in September 1856—conferred some very real and lasting benefits on the British army. Indeed, as regards what he did in the matter of armament, Herbert's generous assertion, that "Lord Hardinge was the man to whom the Army owes most for the improvement of weapons of war and for carrying out those changes with the greatest energy and determination," is conclusive. But he has been blamed for not doing more, the suggestion being that he did not like to shame the memory of his great predecessor by appearing too active. A fairer, at any rate a more generous view is that, on the threshold of his seventieth year, after a life of strenuous and many-sided usefulness, this grand veteran placed the whole nation under an imperishable obligation by removing from the Army at least two grave disqualifications, either of which might have led during the ensuing period of war to terrible humiliation and perhaps overwhelming disaster.

Before turning to the civil side of the War Office in the pre-Crimean period we may usefully devote a few words to Lord Hardinge's principal military assistants, two of whom, the Adjutant-General, Sir George Brown, and the Quartermaster-General, Major-General James Freeth, had been serving under Wellington since 1850 and 1851 respectively. Sir George Brown was an old 43rd man, who had served at Vimiero and Corunna, and had later seen a great deal of other Peninsular fighting with the Light Brigade, in which the 43rd was brigaded with the 52nd and 95th. Subsequently he exchanged to the 85th, and went home to pass through

the Senior Department (afterwards the Staff College) of the Royal Military College at Great Marlow. Returning to Spain, he was present at the battle of the Nivelle. He then went to America, and was badly wounded at the battle of Bladensburg. As Adjutant-General he was greatly disliked. "Brusque," says Stocqueler, "in his manner to applicants for small favours, almost boorish in his rebukes, and obstinately wedded to Regulation, however oppressive and in arrear of the age, he became a terror to young officers, and the instrument of pain and humiliation to the elders." Stocqueler adds that the atmosphere of the Horse Guards was much clearer after the General had left to command a division of the Crimean army, but he does not mention the circumstance, noted in "the Dictionary of National Biography," that Sir George had previously resigned the Adjutant-Generalship, chiefly, it would seem, because he disapproved, like the hide-bound martinet that he was, of Lord Hardinge's reforms.

In the War Office List it is stated that Sir George Brown was succeeded in 1853 by Major-General Sir George Cathcart, but this is not strictly accurate. Cathcart, who had been Wellington's A.D.C. at Waterloo, had been sent out in 1852 to succeed Sir Harry Smith as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape. After carrying out some successful operations against the Kaffirs and Basutos he had been appointed Adjutant-General, and returned home in March 1854 to take up his new duties. But in the meantime the Army had gone to the Crimea, and he himself had been given the command of the Fourth Division. He went out forthwith, and was killed at Inkerman. Meanwhile the Adjutant-Generalship had devolved upon Lieutenant-General Sir George Wetherall, with whom we shall meet again later.

Lord Hardinge's Quartermaster-General was an old

War Office man of long departmental experience, and apparently very popular at the Horse Guards. Major-General James Freeth had joined the Quartermaster-General's Department on his return from the Peninsula in 1813 and had stayed there ever since. Eventually the stress of extra work produced by the Crimean War proved too much for him, and he retired in 1855, to be succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Airey. The latter had been Lord Hardinge's Military Secretary up to the time of the Crimean War, when he himself went to the front, and his place was taken by Sir Charles Yorke. To both of these officers it will be necessary to make further reference, but it is convenient to mention here that Yorke was an old 25th officer who had served with that regiment throughout the Peninsular War, and had been A.D.C. to General Adam at Waterloo. In 1852–3 he had acted as second in command to Cathcart at the Cape.

We may turn now in due course to the civil side of the War Office, but, in order to preserve continuity, it will be preferable this time to give the post of Secretary-at-War precedence over that of the Secretary of State for War, notwithstanding the official seniority of the latter. The reason for this will be apparent presently. For the moment it is sufficient to say that in December 1852, Lord Derby's Government having been defeated owing to Gladstone's vigorous attack upon Disraeli's Budget, a Coalition Administration was formed under Lord Aberdeen, in which the Duke of Newcastle was given War and the Colonies, and Sidney Herbert for a second time became Secretary-at-War.

Passing over the Duke, we find Sidney Herbert, in the interval which elapsed before the outbreak of the Crimean War, doing a quantity of useful work in congenial and happy co-operation with the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hardinge. As his biographer, Lord

Stanmore, says, "With all his aristocratic and conservative instincts Sidney Herbert was a born reformer," and, although at this period he was largely debarred from originating new movements, he threw himself with zest into the forward policy of his military colleague, with the result that the money for the provision of the new rifle, for the Chobham Camp, and for the purchase of ground at Aldershot was procured without any difficulty, and spent to good purpose. There is no question that, but for the intervention of the war, Herbert would have grafted on to Lord Hardinge's reforms many fresh ones of his own, and might perhaps have succeeded at this period in doing even more for the Army than he was able to do later as Secretary of State for War. For the time was eminently favourable for making changes, the old Duke's obstructive influence having disappeared, and an altogether more progressive spirit being observable, not only at the Horse Guards, but throughout the Army generally. It is only fair to the memory of the Duke to attribute something of this to the "Horse Guards Syllabus" of which mention was made in the preceding chapter. Better education was beginning to produce a generation of officers far more thoughtful and far readier to accept and help to carry out reforms than their gallant, but ignorant and prejudiced, predecessors of the Peninsular epoch.

But, just as *inter arma silent leges*, much in the way of active military reform is, of course, rudely interrupted when a country "cries havock! and lets loose the dogs of war." Moreover, the outbreak of hostilities with Russia in the spring of 1854 brought with it a great change in the civil administration of the War Office, which of itself was a bar to Herbert's present progress as an Army reformer. The Duke of Newcastle was, as noted above, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and, like most of his predecessors, had been

compelled by circumstances to pay more attention to the colonial than to the military side of his department. This did not affect the Army greatly. In time of peace the Secretary-at-War found little difficulty in transacting what civilian business there was to be done at the Horse Guards, and there was really no military need for a Secretary of State for War in addition, except as a mere figure-head, and an additional representative of the Army in the Cabinet. But the advent of war on a large scale immediately produced an altered and embarrassing condition of affairs. A similar difficulty had confronted Pitt in 1794, and he had been able to meet it by taking away the Colonies from the Home Office, and making Henry Dundas Secretary of State for both War and Colonies, the latter requiring at the time less attention than they came to need a little later. In 1854 it was manifestly impossible for one Minister to look after the Colonies properly and at the same time to undertake the manifold responsibilities attached to the conduct of a great war. Nor had the Secretary-at-War sufficient authority to enable him to act efficiently as the *alter ego* of the Secretary of State. In July 1854, four months after war with Russia had been declared, War and the Colonies were, accordingly, made separate departments, and the Duke of Newcastle was offered his choice. He chose the office of Secretary of State for War.

There is little doubt that this must have been a serious disappointment to Sidney Herbert. He could not but recognize in the new arrangement a relegation of his own office of Secretary-at-War to a position, not only of subordination to the higher authority of the Secretary of State, but of comparative insignificance. It is characteristic of him, however, that he continued to labour manfully for the good of the Army, and, but for his loyal co-operation, the Duke of Newcastle would

have assuredly made an even greater mess of the Crimean War than, with the best intentions in the world, he unfortunately did. Into all this it will be possible to go more closely in the next chapter, but meanwhile it is convenient to anticipate the future a little by mentioning here that Sidney Herbert was the last holder of the separate office of Secretary-at-War, which had now been in uninterrupted existence for nearly two hundred years. In 1855 the office was merged in that of the Secretary of State for War, and eight years later it was abolished altogether.

In 1855 a still older institution was improved out of existence, its functions also being transferred to the new department of the Secretary of State for War. This was the Board of Ordnance, to which not much attention has been given in the preceding chapters, because, strictly speaking, although allied with the War Office, it was entirely distinct from it, and, as a matter of fact, habitually took pains to emphasize its independence. As noted in Chapter I., records of the Board of Ordnance date back to about 1455, and thus its history may be said to extend over just four centuries. For two hundred years before any War Office existed it was the only permanent military office, and to this fact, as pointed out in the "Army Book of the British Empire," the subsequent strength of its position was clearly due. In addition to this, the Board of Ordnance up to the time of its abolition not only had charge of all the *matériel* of the army, but also had control—through the Master-General—of the two "scientific corps," the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. Incidentally this circumstance led to the harbouring through two centuries of considerable jealousy between the scientific, or, as they used to be called, the Ordnance corps, on the one hand, and on the other the Cavalry and Infantry, which, since the Restoration, were directly under the

Sovereign or a General designated by him. The Board of Ordnance had its own Paymaster-General, and the Ordnance Corps were further differentiated from the rest of the army by the fact that the officers did not purchase their commissions—we heard in Chapter VI. of David Dundas walking to London from Scotland in order to become a "lieutenant fire-worker" in the Artillery—and the men were not clothed by their colonels. Moreover, as Fortescue points out in one of his Staff College lectures, the Board of Ordnance was a powerful factor in the development of the Colonies, since it supplied cannon, small-arms, and ammunition not only to the Army at home but also to forces and fortifications all over the Empire.

Up to the year 1716 the Engineer and Artillery services under the Board of Ordnance formed one corps only. In that year the Duke of Marlborough, who was then Master-General, consented to the reorganization of the Engineers and the establishment of two Artillery companies, which were the basis of the present Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Many notable soldiers are included in the list of Masters-General of the Ordnance, among them four future Commanders-in-Chief, Marlborough, Ligonier, Wellington, and Hardinge. The last holder of the office in the days of the old Board of Ordnance was Lord Raglan, shortly after whose death the Board was abolished. The title of Master-General of the Ordnance was revived in 1904, and bestowed on the Fourth Military Member of the Army Council.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CRIMEA

IN the last chapter an attempt was made not only to give some idea of the state of our higher military administration in the period immediately preceding the war in the Crimea, but also to outline in advance certain War Office departmental changes which the outbreak of hostilities on a large scale necessitated. War with Russia was declared in February 1854; in July the Duke of Newcastle became Secretary of State, not for War and the Colonies, but for War alone, Sidney Herbert continuing for another year to hold the Secretaryship-at-War with, of course, diminished responsibilities as regards the conduct of military affairs generally, and little more than nominal authority in respect to the war itself. As Commander-in-Chief, or, to be strictly accurate, General Commanding-in-Chief at home we had Lord Hardinge, with Sir George Wetherall as his Adjutant-General, Major-General James Freeth as Quartermaster-General, and Sir Charles Yorke as Military Secretary. The chief command of the British force in the Crimea was held by Wellington's old Military Secretary, Fitzroy Somerset, now Lord Raglan.

The purpose of the present writer lies, of course, quite apart from any consideration of the campaign in the Crimea from the strategical and tactical standpoints. At the same time he does not propose to discuss at all exhaustively even the pertinent question of the responsibility of the War Office for the failures and deficiencies which the conduct of the war revealed. A subject which

could not be conclusively dealt with in a searching Parliamentary inquiry, and which a succession of able writers have attacked from different points of view, mostly with quite unconvincing results, stands little chance of being satisfactorily disposed of in a short chapter by a wholly undistinguished publicist. But something may, perhaps, be done, even in the following few pages, to present the facts of the case fairly, and by that process to lighten or, at any rate, to ease the dead weight of indiscriminating imputation which, apologies and exculpations notwithstanding, continues to rest on two or three pairs of undeserving shoulders.

First, let us endeavour to form some idea of the personality of the man upon whom it is usual to cast the greater portion of the blame for the many ineptitudes, the many omissions, the many mistakes of this remarkable war. Henry Pelham, fifth Duke of Newcastle, was a man whose life was so seriously chequered by private misfortune that only the strongest sense of duty, and the most unselfish devotion to the service of his Queen and country, could have induced him to undertake the tremendous public responsibilities which he ultimately did undertake with splendid courage, and in the discharge of which he displayed untiring industry. His first entry into political life was under the wing of Peel, whose practice it was to make recruits of University undergraduates of high social position or marked intellectual promise. Lord Lincoln, as he was before he succeeded to the Dukedom, was singled out by Peel, together with Sidney Herbert and Gladstone, with both of whom Lincoln was on terms of close friendship at Oxford. Gladstone was twenty-five, Herbert twenty-four, and Lincoln twenty-three when Peel gave all three a place in the Government which he formed in 1834. For some years Lincoln's lot was cast in pleasant political places and in the good company, not only of the two friends mentioned above, but of other rising Peelite

politicians, such as Dalhousie and Cardwell. His biographer, John Martineau, says of him that, though perhaps one of the least brilliant and original of the band, and with little rhetorical power, he was inferior to none of them in rectitude, diligence, and assiduous devotion to the public service. "Like his father, he had a strong sense of duty and of the responsibilities attaching to his high rank and position, and, like him also, a constitutional tendency to introspection and self-consciousness, and a disposition to attach undue importance to trifling matters, which disturbed his sense of proportion, and inclined him to gravity and melancholy.

Later, his political responsibilities became heavier, and a succession of domestic troubles came upon him. For a good many years he was quite estranged from his father —a queer, sensitive man with warped ideas and a passion for buying land with borrowed money—and he was compelled eventually to divorce his wife. He felt, too, with uncommon keenness the death, in 1850, of Peel who had gradually come to recognize Lincoln as one of his most trusty lieutenants. Lincoln's father died in 1851, and in the following year he joined Lord Aberdeen's Ministry, as we saw in the last chapter, in the capacity of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. In the period which immediately preceded the outbreak of war there was considerable divergence of views in the Cabinet as to the course to be taken. Lord Aberdeen was all for peace, and Gladstone was known to incline to the same views. Palmerston, on the other hand, was strongly in favour of showing the Tsar that England would run the risk of war rather than yield tamely to Russian demands. He was understood to be supported by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord John Russell. Chiefly as a protest against Lord Aberdeen's want of firmness, Palmerston actually resigned in the summer of 1853, but was induced by the Duke of Newcastle to withdraw his resignation. Although war

was not declared until the end of March 1854, military preparations were commenced in January, and the first order as to the dispatch of troops abroad was given on 9 February.

What followed is written in scores of records and fixed in the memories of many still living. The gallant appearance of the troops as they left for the seat of war, and the enthusiasm aroused by the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, engendered in the British public sanguine expectations and hot-headed impatience which were rudely checked by the very real difficulties of the siege of Sebastopol and by the accounts of the sufferings to which the British Army was being exposed amid the rigours of a Russian winter. The anxiety to hang some one found vent in angry criticism of nearly every one connected with the conduct of the war, the Duke of Newcastle, Sidney Herbert, Lord Hardinge, and Lord Raglan being all in turn subjected to savage and generally quite unfair abuse. So violent and indiscriminate was the storm of obloquy, so copious and detailed were the indictments formulated, that even now it is rare to find the whole unfortunate business treated in anything approaching a judicial spirit. It is not suggested that the invective was wholly unmerited, or that the impassioned comments, more especially of the "Times," were not useful in producing a marked improvement in the condition of affairs. But judgment was passed far too hastily, and the lack of generosity displayed on all sides was quite deplorable. Nor is it just to attribute to outside pressure alone an amelioration which would almost certainly have been arrived at in the ordinary course with such men in authority at home as Newcastle, Hardinge, and Herbert, who at least were conscientious, and not wanting in brains or energy.

"Amid the din of invective," writes Hamley in "The Campaign of Sebastopol," which contains some of the very soundest comments on the war that are anywhere avail-

able, "those who read the Parliamentary debates and leading articles of the time will be puzzled to detect the true ground of censure. They will see that the nation was dissatisfied, and with whom, but will have some difficulty in knowing why. Everybody has been ready to indicate the culprits, but none to specify the crime, except in the general terms of neglect, ignorance, and apathy." Hamley himself instances as a notorious cause of failure, which was quite misunderstood by the public, the want of communication between Balaclava and the camp. It was asked why a road had not been made, and it was urged that the road should have been made at the commencement of the siege, and should have been the first thing thought of. Now, as Hamley points out, at the commencement of the siege, and for six weeks afterwards, the roads were hard and good, and the original hope was that Sebastopol would fall after a short cannonade. By the time this hope was shattered, the army was beginning to be thinned by sickness, and every available man was wanted for the trenches. The construction of a road seven miles long thus became gradually a practical impossibility. Hamley elaborates the argument in a very interesting and convincing fashion, but the temptation to deal here with the situation at the front rather than with that at home head-quarters must be resisted.

From the latter standpoint, the main difficulty was the lack of reserve troops wherewith to supply the deficiencies caused by casualties and sickness. This formed the basis of unfavourable comparisons with the arrangements made by our French allies, who, of course, had amply adequate reserves to draw upon for reinforcements, but who, in many other respects, notably in the matter of sickness, could not claim any marked superiority. To blame the Ministry of the day for want of forethought in this respect is almost absurd. Our military system, such as it was, was a legacy which they had inherited from a long period

of peace, during which the Army had steadily declined in popular favour through no fault of its own, but simply because it was foolishly imagined that, if needed, trained troops could be quickly provided, no pains being taken, even by the military authorities, to correct this error. Sidney Herbert, as we have seen, endeavoured during his first tenure of the Secretaryship-at-War to remedy the absence of a reserve by calling into existence a considerable force of militia, but his Bill fell through, and there is no reason to suppose that the military authorities exerted themselves in any way to avert this misfortune.

The Commissariat deficiencies were another ground of censure. In this connexion the Duke of Newcastle is particularly blameless, because no sooner had he intimated his acceptance of the Secretaryship of State for War as distinct from the Colonies than he wrote (5 July, 1854) to Lord Aberdeen pointing out the inconvenience of allowing the Commissariat to remain, as it had hitherto remained, with the expressed assent of the Duke of Wellington, under the control of the Treasury, and asking that it should be transferred to his own department. This was actually done five months later, and there is little doubt that, if the change had taken place a few years before the war, instead of in the thick of it, many of the mistakes which were committed might have been avoided. Not all, of course, because in regard both to supply and transport we had no system worthy of the name. As Lord Wolseley remarks in his "Story of a Soldier's Life," almost all the civil departments which feed an army in the field, and administer to its daily wants, had long since been abolished, and nearly everything in this way was done by contract. "I remember," he says, "that the first time my battalion had seen tents since it returned, years before, from the Cape, was one day at a camp drill in the Phœnix Park. It was amusing to find that the tents were brought from the military storehouses

to the ground where they were to be pitched in the ordinary one-horse dung carts of the town driven by their owners for the job." But were the Government of the day fairly to be reproached for these and similarly "amusing" deficiencies?

The writer has waded through a mass of literature on this subject, and his personal conclusion is that at least three-quarters of the blame for our troubles in the Crimea must rest on the Duke of Wellington. He is familiar with the line of defence adopted, more particularly by Major Arthur Griffiths in "The Wellington Memorial," the gist of which is that, from 1842 to 1852, the Duke, while seeming to neglect the Army, was defending its very existence, "threatened as it was by unsparing economists who would have made a clean sweep of it, and who continually attacked the Estimates." The argument is ingenious, and in the case of a lesser man might be considered weighty. But it takes no account of the immense influence which the Duke wielded right up to the day of his death, and of the fact that he was not only passively unprogressive but in several respects actively obstructive. It is almost silly to suggest that, if the Duke had not only retained, but taken every public opportunity of exhibiting, his interest in the Army, he would not have carried a great section of the country with him by the force of his great name alone. But he did nothing of the kind. Beyond making the military arrangements for the defence of London against the Chartists in 1848, he seldom if ever troubled himself about the assembling of troops in any large numbers, and it remained for Lord Hardinge in 1853 to make at Chobham the first attempt at anything approaching manœuvres on a large scale which had been made since Waterloo. The success of the Chobham Camp shows what Wellington might have done had he chosen to display the Army

to proper advantage during the long years through which he was its venerated Chief.

Still more inexcusable seems Wellington's failure to keep in some sort of working order the departmental services which he himself had been at such pains to organize in the Peninsula. No General who ever lived had a better appreciation of those services—his own complacent description of himself as a first-class Commissariat officer showed what importance he attached to them—and one would have imagined that the uphill work he had had in improvising organizations while war was in progress would have impressed upon him the paramount necessity of making some permanent provision for the future. But he made none—not even a nucleus of a transport system was kept up—and the only Commissariat officers whose names appeared in the "Army List" in 1854 were on colonial service.

Lord Hardinge can hardly be blamed for not having in less than two years done more to rectify the omissions of his predecessor. As has been noted, he actually did a great deal. Most of, though not all, the troops sent out to the Crimea were armed with the Minié rifle, to which Wellington, utterly indifferent to the progress that was being made in this as in other directions on the Continent, had been so stubbornly opposed. Seventy-eight of the new guns which Lord Hardinge had ordered as Master-General of the Ordnance in the beginning of 1852 went with the expeditionary force. Nor can it be doubted that the Chobham manœuvres did something to render a considerable proportion of the troops a little less hopelessly unfamiliar with field service conditions than they would otherwise have been. But the dry rot that had been steadily growing for nearly forty years could not, of course, be removed by one man—and that man nearly seventy years of age—in about eighteen months.

Having thus far attempted a general exculpation both of the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief in regard to the more serious counts of the indictment formulated against them by their contemporaries, it is necessary, in common fairness, to admit that in several particular instances neither displayed either the sagacity or the discrimination which might fairly have been expected from their undoubtedly wide experience and knowledge of the world. As regards the Duke of Newcastle, the more closely we go into the record of what was actually done at the War Office in 1854–5 the more strongly must one be impressed with the Duke's conscientiousness, his amazing industry, his almost pathetic anxiety to do the right thing, and, above all, his extraordinary willingness to accept responsibility, knowing well, as he did, what liabilities in the way of public censure he incurred by doing so. But, largely no doubt because he was utterly overworked, he failed to exhibit a proper calmness in the transaction of the larger business of his office, and showed himself deficient in the sense of proportion by devoting himself with quite unnecessary assiduity to duties which should have been handed over to subordinates. He was handicapped, of course, by the fact that his new Department of War had no separate office, no precedents, and no experienced officials. But he was over-eager, had no talent for handling men, and no gift, as Sidney Herbert had, of attaching them to himself and getting the best out of them. In the words of the Sebastopol Committee's Report, "the Duke was imperfectly acquainted with the best mode of exercising his authority over the subordinate departments [of the new Secretariat], and these departments were not officially informed of their relative position, or of their new duties towards the Minister for War. His interference was sought for in matters of detail, wherein

his time should not have been occupied, and he was left unacquainted with transactions of which he should have received official cognizance. Feeling his large responsibilities, he took upon himself to remedy innumerable deficiencies which were brought to his notice, and in the meantime matters of paramount importance were postponed."

From the medley of subjects in which the Duke interested himself, two may be selected as having a considerable effect upon the future of the Army. One of these was the abolition of the old form of leather stock, as to which the Secretary of State for War wrote personally to Lord Raglan, asking at the same time that the men should be allowed to grow beards. The relaxation of the rigid rules in regard to these matters must have been a great annoyance to Sir George Brown, the ex-Adjutant-General of the Army, now in command of the Light Division, who himself stuck to "pipeclay" to the last, and was popularly supposed to sleep in his stock. Lord Wolseley mentions that a friend of his found Sir George shaving before daybreak the morning of Alma, and adds, "without doubt he was the only man who used a razor on that occasion." Again it is, perhaps, not generally known that the institution of the Victoria Cross owes its origin to a letter written by the Duke of Newcastle to Prince Albert in January 1855.

The principal charge brought against Lord Hardinge was that he allowed himself to be unduly influenced in the selection of officers to fill high posts in the Expeditionary Force, and was also indiscreet in regard to the appointments he bestowed by way of reward for services during the war. There is little doubt that the Commander-in-Chief did incur some responsibility and merit some reproach in this connexion. He seems in particular to have paid special attention to the applica-

tions made to him by the Directors of the East India Company, to whom he was personally indebted for consideration shown him on his retirement from the Indian Governor-Generalship. It is also recorded that to members of two military families he gave no fewer than sixteen appointments. Incidentally, he brought down upon himself a storm of criticism by promoting his former Military Secretary, Sir Richard Airey, to be Quartermaster-General of the Army on that officer's return from the Crimea, where, according to the newspapers, he had failed as Quartermaster-General in the field. A scapegoat being badly wanted, an attempt was made to give official colour to the charges against General Airey, and two special commissioners were sent out in 1855 to the Crimea to collect evidence. The "prosecution" ultimately broke down completely—an amusing description of Sir Richard Airey's appearance before the Board of Generals at Chelsea is to be found in Chapter XLII. of Lord Wolseley's "Story of a Soldier's Life"—and Sir Richard, afterwards Lord Airey, rapidly rose to be one of the most respected, as he was undoubtedly one of the very best, officers in the Army.

But in several other cases Lord Hardinge's selections were not by any means justified, and in one instance he made a grave mistake which had serious consequences. The question had arisen of appointing Lord Lucan to the command of the Cavalry Division, and Lord Cardigan to that of the Light Brigade. These two officers were brothers-in-law, but they were not even on speaking terms. Both were men of difficult tempers, and to place them in important and closely related commands was an astonishing proceeding. Lord Raglan protested strongly against it, but Lord Hardinge overruled his objections, and both appointments were made with results which the Commander-in-Chief at home must have viewed with bitter mortification.

Sidney Herbert, who had continued to hold the office of Secretary-at-War throughout the year 1854, did not escape censure for being concerned in the general mismanagement which characterized the conduct of the war. Unfortunately it was his department which had the control of the Medical Service of the Army, in which there was a deplorable break-down during the three or four months after the battle of the Alma. But Herbert worked strenuously to remedy the defects, and his dispatch of Miss Florence Nightingale with a staff of nurses to Scutari wrought a marvellous change for the better, and paved the way to important subsequent reforms.

The story of the connexion of the War Office with the Crimean War may now be brought succinctly to a close. When, in November 1854, news began to arrive in England of the sufferings of the troops at the front, Lord John Russell jumped to the conclusion that the public was right in attributing the blame for what was occurring to the Duke of Newcastle, and proposed to Lord Aberdeen that Palmerston should take the Duke's place. Lord Aberdeen declined to accede to this, and Lord John threatened resignation, subsequently carrying his threat into execution in January 1855. Meanwhile Mr Roebuck, Q.C., had given notice of a motion in the House of Commons for a Select Committee "to inquire into the condition of our Army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that Army." The Cabinet, with the exception of Lord John Russell, opposed the motion, but it was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the Government resigned. A Ministry was formed by Palmerston, and Lord Panmure, formerly Captain Fox Maule, who had been Secretary-at-War from 1846 to 1852, succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary of State for War. No successor to Sidney Herbert was

appointed, the duties of Secretary-at-War being absorbed in the Secretaryship of State for War, and we hear nothing further of the post until its formal abolition in 1863.

The Sebastopol Committee was duly formed with Roebuck as its Chairman, and sat until June 1855, taking quantities of evidence, much of it of the flimsiest character, the proceedings being marked by the display of considerable bias on the part of the Chairman against the constituted authorities. At the close Mr Roebuck was anxious to send in a report strongly condemning the Government and Lord Raglan, but could only find one other member of the Committee, Sir Henry Layard, to support him. The Majority Report was discursively moderate, and did not impute very serious blame to anyone.

Shortly after the Duke of Newcastle quitted office the state of affairs in the Crimea began to improve, but there is force in the contention of the Duke's biographer that much of this was due to measures already taken by the Duke. Indeed there soon came to be a feeling that the latter had been too hastily condemned, and Charles Greville, the Diarist, writes in August 1855 about the Duke's successor, "It is evident that Newcastle was a much abler man, and, if he had happened to come after Panmure, he would have been as much belauded as he has been abused." Without by any means subscribing to Greville's comparative estimate, one welcomes the indication of a revulsion of feeling in regard to a man whose code of honour was so conspicuously high, and who certainly never spared himself in the public service. It is typical of the Duke of Newcastle's character and career that, almost as soon as he was relieved of his portfolio, he should have proceeded to the Crimea himself, making a close inspection of the arrangements, and witnessing the final assault upon

Sebastopol. He returned to office later as Colonial Secretary, and died in 1864.

In June 1855 Lord Raglan was carried off by dysentery, and in the autumn of 1856 another prominent actor in the Crimean drama died, Lord Hardinge himself, his death being undoubtedly accelerated by the extra work and anxieties connected with the war. Both these Commanders-in-Chief had their failings, but both were very gallant soldiers and fine gentlemen, and in the long list of great names on the War Office roll there are not many that stand out in clearer relief than those of Henry Hardinge and Fitzroy Somerset.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

ON the decease of Lord Hardinge, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was appointed "General Commanding-in-Chief the Forces, Headquarters of the Army." His Royal Highness was the only son of George III's seventh son, Adolphus Frederick, who was created first Duke of Cambridge in 1801, and was himself a good soldier who had seen service in the Netherlands and in Hanover. It was in commemoration of the first Duke, afterwards Viceroy of Hanover, that the Royal Cambridge Asylum was instituted in 1852, as a refuge for destitute widows of old soldiers. George William Frederick Charles, the second Duke, cousin of Queen Victoria and her senior by two months, was born in March 1819, and as a young officer had served at Gibraltar, and as colonel on the staff in the Ionian Islands. In 1846 he was appointed Major-General in command of the Dublin District, and in 1852 he joined the head-quarters of the Army as Inspector-General of Cavalry, discharging the duties of the post from St. James's Palace.

That the young Royal General was a thoughtful as well as a keen soldier was evidenced by his production in 1852 of an important memorandum on the "Organization of the British Army at Home." This was followed by other memoranda on the "Organization of British Infantry"—this appeared in January 1853, and attracted the interested attention of the Prince Consort—the "Organization of British Cavalry" (Oct. 1853), and the "Age of General Officers" (Dec. 1853). Judged by modern standards, there

may not be anything very brilliant or illuminating about these productions, but they are informed by strong common sense, and are clearly the result not only of considerable experience but of a very close personal interest in the Army, and its maintenance on a footing commensurate with its responsibilities.

His Royal Highness was a frequent visitor to the Camp at Chobham in the summer of 1853, and as the year wore on we may take it that he was among the first to realize how vitally useful even this slender preparation for the actual work of war was about to become. In his position he would naturally be well informed of the gradual straining of our relations with Russia, and at the commencement of 1854 he was himself employed in this connexion, being dispatched on a secret mission to Austria, which he evidently discharged to the complete satisfaction of the Queen and the Government. When the Crimean War broke out he was appointed to the command of the First Division, which included the Brigade of Guards under Brigadier-General Bentinck, and the Highland Brigade under Brigadier-General Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde.

With the services of the Duke in the Crimea we are not here concerned. It need only be mentioned briefly that he commanded his Division at the battles of the Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman, and during the opening stages of the siege of Sebastopol. During the latter operation he fell sick, and at the end of December 1854 was invalided home. In the following June he was offered the Gibraltar command, but declined it on the ground that the place did not suit him. There was from time to time talk about his returning to the Crimea, but it came to nothing. In the "Panmure Papers" there is an illuminating passage which goes far to explain this circumstance. Panmure was writing, in July 1855, to the Queen about the qualifications of possible successors to General Simpson, who had taken

A PUNCH CARTOON (JULY 26, 1856) ILLUSTRATING THE CONTEMPORARY BELIEF THAT THE PRINCE CONSORT WOULD HAVE PREFERRED HIS OWN APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THAT OF THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

up the chief command in the Crimea on the death of Lord Raglan, and whom it was now proposed to relieve. Coming to the Duke of Cambridge, Panmure frankly suggested, while "admitting all H.R.H.'s hereditary courage," that "he might fail in self-control in situations where the safety of the Army might depend on coolness and self-possession." The Queen's reply was that Lord Panmure's opinion given upon those who might appear available as successors to General Simpson "entirely coincides with the Queen's own."

A little later it was practically settled that a new post was to be created for the Duke of Cambridge, that of Inspector-General of Infantry, but Lord Hardinge's death intervened, and the Duke of Cambridge became, as we have seen, Commander-in-Chief instead. He was now in his thirty-eighth year, and naturally much elated by his promotion. But he bore himself with commendable restraint, and at the outset acted very sensibly in retaining his predecessor's Military Secretary, an official who then and for another quarter of a century wielded an influence which could hardly be exercised by the existing Military Secretary to the Secretary of State for War.

Stocqueler, who speaks of this period from intimate personal knowledge, describes Sir Charles Yorke—to whom brief allusion has already been made in Chapter XII. —as being of a somewhat acid temperament which usefully neutralized the occasionally over-generous tendencies of the young Commander-in-Chief in regard to personal matters. "Associated on familiar terms with many young and not always discreet officers who could not promptly realize the new position which 'P. G.,' as they were wont to call him, had acquired, the Duke was exposed to solicitations which it would have been imprudent to grant, but which he had not always the moral courage directly to refuse. 'Go to Sir Charles Yorke,' was the loophole through which His Royal Highness evaded the

necessity for doing what his judgment condemned and his good nature could scarcely resist." There seem to have been occasions, too, on which Sir Charles Yorke would of his own initiative indicate the "inconveniences, irregularities, danger &c. &c. of His Royal Highness's intentions." Sir Charles remained Military Secretary until 1860, when he was succeeded by Major-General W. F. Forster, who retained the post until 1871, and became one of the Duke's most intimate and trusty counsellors. With General Forster we shall meet again later in connexion with the Cardwell régime.

The Adjutant-Generalship and Quartermaster-Generalship, at the time the Duke of Cambridge became Commander-in-Chief, were held by Generals Sir George Wetherall and Sir Richard Airey respectively. The former had been an excellent regimental commanding officer and was a thoroughly kind, good-hearted man, with, moreover, a sense of humour. Sir Evelyn Wood, in "From Midshipman to Field-Marshal," relates how, shortly after his appointment to a cornetcy, he wrote temerariously direct to the then Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hardinge, informing the latter that he had passed his drills at the depôt, and asking to be sent to join the service troops in the Crimea. Sir George Wetherall, as Adjutant-General, addressing the officer commanding the depôt, ordered him to instruct Cornet Wood in future to approach the Commander-in-Chief in a more conventional fashion, adding dryly, "Lord Hardinge has always understood it takes more than twenty-four days to make a perfect Cavalry officer, which time it appears Mr. Wood has been at the Depôt." It was characteristic of Sir George that, notwithstanding the irregularity of the procedure adopted, he took a note of the warlike cornet's wishes, and sent him out on the first opportunity.

Sir George Wetherall continued to hold the Adjutant-Generalship until 1860, when he was succeeded by

Lieutenant-General Sir James Yorke Scarlett, who in his turn was succeeded in 1865 by Lieutenant-General Lord William Paulet. But Sir Richard Airey's association with the War Office was much more prolonged. He remained Quartermaster-General until 1865, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir James Hope Grant, and returned five years later to Army headquarters as Adjutant-General, in which capacity he will come under further allusion in a subsequent chapter.

With such immediate subordinates as Yorke, Wetherall, and Airey, the Duke of Cambridge found his way made easy for him as regards military routine, and it is evident from his journals that he keenly appreciated his new position, and enjoyed to the full the pomp and ceremony attached to it, especially, perhaps, in the way of full-dress parades, for which he always had a strong predilection. But he also worked hard at his desk, and indeed was compelled to do so by the exigencies of the moment. On the termination of the war with Russia it devolved upon the office of the Commander-in-Chief—which was still, by the way, located at the Horse Guards—to assist in the transfer of Army establishments from a war to a peace footing, a process which must incidentally have caused the Duke many pangs, involving, as such transfers always do, heart-rending sacrifices of irreplaceable material. The Duke fought manfully against some reductions, and occasionally no doubt his exceptional position, and the unswerving support of the Queen, enabled him to win concessions which a non-Royal Commander-in-Chief might have been snubbed for seeking.

In passing, it is only fair to the Duke to say that it was not only on personal grounds that consideration was accorded him. This is well demonstrated by an interesting reference in the Greville "Memoirs." In October 1857, Greville wrote: "Clarendon says he has recently been very much pleased with the Duke of Cambridge who had

shown a great deal of sense and discretion, and a very accurate knowledge of the details of his office, and that he was a much better Commander-in-Chief than Hardinge. He had been lately summoned to the Cabinet on many occasions and had given great satisfaction there."

The Duke's position in regard to the supremacy of the Secretary of State for War was from the first a somewhat difficult one. As the Queen's cousin, and imbued with the most rigid opinions as to the relationship of the Sovereign with the Army, possessed, moreover, of a very strong sense of personal dignity, it was not easy for him to fall into line with the steadily progressive view of Parliamentary control, not only of expenditure but of every detail of military administration. There is no question that at first he chafed considerably under the restrictions placed upon him, but he was above all a common-sensible man of great sagacity, and, perceiving that there was a point beyond which he could not go, at any rate at present, without provoking what might have proved an awkward conflict, he wisely accepted the situation and displayed the most punctilious deference to the superior constitutional authority possessed, and, at the time courteously but firmly asserted, by the Secretary of State for War.

The holder of this office was, as we have seen, Lord Panmure, formerly Captain Fox Maule, who had previously been Secretary-at-War from 1846 to 1852, and succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary of State for War under Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston in 1855. Panmure was a hard-working, capable official, but did not succeed in impressing his contemporaries with any great idea of his real worth. He incurred a good deal of censure, much of which was quite undeserved, for the various muddles in the Crimea, and by one silly action brought down upon himself quite a storm of ridicule coupled with some indignation. He had a nephew named Dowbiggin, who had gone to the front, and in one of his dispatches to

the military authorities in the Crimea he asked that some particular attention should be paid to his relative. The matter leaked out, and "Take care of Dowb" became a sort of catchword, not at all, it need hardly be said, to the enhancement of Lord Panmure's reputation or popularity.

But he was none the less a good and in many ways a strong War Secretary. A lesser man would have failed utterly to make any sort of headway amid the rocks and shoals with which the channels of War Office administration were now strewn, owing to the volcanic upheavals which had been taking place intermittently since 1854. These disturbances will be described in some detail in the next chapter. For the present it is sufficient to say that the root of the trouble was that, apart from the purely military side, there was a great number of different civil departments without any attempt at grouping them, and practically no intervening authority between the heads of these departments and the Secretary of State except the Under-Secretary. This meant that one or other of the two last named had to decide on numberless questions, many of them of a technical character, which ought never to have reached them at all. We shall see later how Cardwell dealt with this difficulty, but in the meantime it is to Panmure's credit that, although neither he nor anyone else could really have succeeded under such an essentially faulty system, he kept things moving, and did much to smooth the way for those who came after him. He also, as we have seen, succeeded in maintaining quite friendly relations with the Duke of Cambridge, notwithstanding his complete assumption, which, as the Duke's biographer, Colonel Willoughby Verner, remarks, was never abated, of constitutional superiority based on Parliamentary responsibility.

As a matter of fact Panmure held particularly strong views on this point, views which he had enunciated in a confidential memorandum written when he was Secretary-

at-War in January, 1850, and published in the notable "Panmure Papers." The following is an extract. "My opinion is, so long as so large a portion of our annual expenditure is required for the Army and Ordnance you must have a distinct and separate Minister who shall make it his business to look into all military matters. . . . Let the patronage of the Army be left to the Commander-in-Chief and its strategy to its own officers, but let all other matters rest with a responsible Minister of the Crown. I foresee great difficulty in carrying out these views as long as the Duke of Wellington and Lord Anglesey [formerly Earl of Uxbridge and now Master-General of the Ordnance] live . . . but the change must come sooner or later, as it is founded on reason and Constitutional principles."

Whatever may be thought of Panmure as an administrator—and Kinglake does not spare him—a perusal of his "Papers" leaves a very pleasant impression of him as a man. He had a warm temper, which was aggravated by gout, but he had also a very warm heart. His letters to General Simpson in the Crimea are full of personal kindliness, and in August 1855, we have Miss Nightingale writing to him: "I am very grateful to you for your kind letter. That you should think of me and my health in the midst of this painful and pressing war must indeed surprise and please me." After his death a search among his papers disclosed a long list of annuities which he had been paying privately, some to friends in his own station who had fallen upon evil days, or to their widows and children. By those with whom he came into close contact he was warmly beloved, and towards the Queen his attitude was always that of "chivalrous loyalty and devotion."

Panmure remained Secretary of State for War until February 1858, when he went out with Palmerston and the rest of the Ministry over the Conspiracy Bill. Meanwhile

the great Indian Mutiny had taken place, throwing upon the War Office much additional work and anxiety, to be followed a little later, as we shall see, by fresh obligations, the development of which has had a significant and lasting effect upon our whole scheme of military organization and administration. It is sufficient at this point to say that, at the time of the Mutiny, the European troops in India were of two classes. The "Queen's Troops" consisted of four regiments of cavalry and twenty-two battalions of infantry, numbering about 30,000. There were also nine battalions of infantry and a proportion of Artillery and Engineers, numbering about 10,000, which were raised and maintained by the East India Company. In 1858 a further three regiments of European cavalry, known as "Dumpies" from the lowered standard of height adopted, were hastily raised and sent out for local service under the Company in India.

In September 1858 it was enacted that, as a result of the Sepoy revolt, the Government of India should forthwith pass from the hands of the East India Company into those of the Crown, and on 1 November the transfer was formally proclaimed. Early in 1859 the local European troops, including the "Dumpies," mutinied on the ground that they were not liable by the terms of their enlistment to compulsory transfer to another service. Thus in a variety of ways the future constitution and regulation of more especially the European garrison of India had become an extremely pressing question.

Meanwhile Lord Panmure had been succeeded as Secretary of State for War by Major-General Jonathan Peel, brother of the great Sir Robert, and himself a man of considerable parts and high character. He had been gazetted to a commission in the Rifle Brigade three days before the battle of Waterloo, and in the Great Peace which followed had had no opportunity of seeing service. He bought his way up in the usual manner, becoming a lieutenant-colonel

in the 53rd in 1827. In the previous year he had entered Parliament, and in 1841–6 he served under his brother's Administration as Surveyor-General of Ordnance. He was a great racing man, and in 1844 he won the Derby with Orlando, another of his horses, Ionian, being placed second. In 1854, having risen to be Major-General, and being still hale and fit at fifty-five, he asked to be allowed to join the army in the Crimea, but was refused permission on the ground that he was too old. When Lord Derby returned to power in February 1858 he appointed General Peel Secretary of State for War, chiefly, it is said, as a graceful tribute to the memory of Sir Robert, his former colleague and rival. But the choice could have been justified on other grounds, as Peel made a very useful and popular War Secretary, a notable memorial of his tenure being his presidency of the great Royal Commission on the Organization of the Indian Army, which reported in 1859 on issues hardly less vitally significant than any which have been raised in this country since the days of Magna Charta.

It does not concern the present writer to go at all closely into the details of the monumental Report of this Commission, of which the Duke of Cambridge was a member, and the deliberations of which are usefully summarized in the "Army Book of the British Empire." It is sufficient here to accentuate the fact that a decision was reached on two cardinal points, namely, that the European garrison of India should be based not on local but imperial service, and that the whole of the European forces employed in India should be part of the Sovereign's Army and so available for duty in any part of the world. The Duke of Cambridge, it may be noted, was most emphatic as to the necessity of doing away with the local European troops, and urged strongly "on Imperial and military grounds" the need of "one European Army for the whole Empire, including India."

General Jonathan Peel left the War Office on the resignation of Lord Derby's Ministry in the early summer of 1859, to reappear, as we shall see, in the same capacity, and for a similarly brief spell, seven years later. The return to power of Lord Palmerston gave the portfolio of War to Sidney Herbert, who had already, during two tenures of office as Secretary-at-War, done so much more than most Secretaries of State before or since have done for the welfare of the British Army. Since the practical suspension of his former office in 1855—it was not definitely abolished until eight years later—Herbert had steadily advanced in Parliamentary estimation, and during 1856 had taken a marked lead in the movement for Army reform which followed the Crimean War. He continued to interest himself deeply in the sanitary condition of the Army, and in 1858 he was President of a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the existing regulations on the subject, the organization of military hospitals, and the treatment of the sick and wounded. Few Royal Commissions have done better work or led up to more practical results, and in the following year Sidney Herbert had the satisfaction not only of drafting a new set of regulations for the Army Medical Service, but of completing the reorganization of the department, and instituting what had never before existed with us, namely, a practical Army Medical School.

Probably there has been no short period more fruitful in Army reforms than the two years from 1859 to 1861, during which Sidney Herbert, as Secretary of State for War, and the Duke of Cambridge, as Commander-in-Chief, laboured shoulder to shoulder for the good of the Service. For the latter, too, the interval must have been a particularly pleasant relief from the many distractions and anxieties of the past three years. Among the anxieties must be counted the recurrence of apprehension lest Parliamentary action should still further sap the position of the Commander-in-Chief by aggrandizing the authority

of the Secretary of State for War. In May 1858 the question of defining the responsibilities and duties of the various military departments had come before the House of Commons, and it had been resolved by a majority of two that the Horse Guards and War Office should be placed in definite subordination to one responsible Minister. The Duke became alarmed, and wrote to the Queen, who promptly consulted Lord Derby, and obtained from him an assurance that no serious action would be taken on the Resolution. The question came again before the House in 1859, and the Government resorted to the time-honoured expedient of appointing a Committee of Inquiry, with the result that nothing was done until the passing of the War Office Act through the instrumentality of Mr. Cardwell in 1870.

Freed temporarily from these cares, the Duke turned willingly to what may be termed the domestic duties of his office, and, with Herbert as Secretary of State for War, he was certain at least of sympathetic reception of his proposals, and, where necessary, of prompt action in relation to them. It is practically impossible, in dealing with the numerous new departures made about this date—the adoption of rifled ordnance, the institution of a system of musketry instruction at Hythe, the construction of quarters and a hospital for the wives and children of soldiers at Aldershot, and a score of other useful innovations—to distinguish those that can be attributed to the particular initiative of either the Duke or Herbert. But in regard to two important developments, the military education of officers and the institution of the Volunteer Force, we shall probably not be wrong in crediting the Commander-in-Chief with the first and the Secretary of State for War with the second. In any case there can be no question as to the cordiality of the co-operation and the fruitfulness of its results.

As regards the War Office, Herbert had to contend on

LORD HERBERT OF LEA

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE

and off with a species of internal obstruction which is still not altogether unknown in Whitehall, but which, in the pre-Cardwellian days especially, used formerly at times to become very serious. It arose from the reluctance of the permanent officials to part with any shred of their authority, and it took the form of creating cases for reference to the highest officials which might easily, and certainly should have been decided locally. As a type of scores of cases which were gravely laid before the Secretary of State for War for his decision and judgment, Lord Stanmore, Herbert's biographer, gives the following. At Yarmouth the P.M.O. and the Steward of the General Hospital quarrelled, because the latter not only kept poultry but allowed them to stray into the Hospital. The P.M.O. was extremely and indeed naturally indignant about this, and further accused the Steward of employing an orderly to dig his potatoes. Smarting under this charge, the Steward declared that the P.M.O. had used a Hospital rug as a carpet. The P.M.O. retorted that the Steward issued linen not thoroughly washed. The Steward replied that the P.M.O. had washed his dog in a Hospital bath and dried him with a Hospital sheet. At this point it occurred to the P.M.O. to bring against the Steward a charge of insubordination, and in due course the papers were sent up to the War Office and a précis laid before the Secretary of State. What Herbert's decision was is unfortunately not recorded.

It is hardly surprising in these circumstances that Miss Nightingale, at the end of 1859, should have written to Herbert describing the War Office as " a very slow office, an enormously expensive office, a not very efficient office, and one in which the Minister's intentions can be absolutely negatived by all his sub-departments, and those of each of the sub-departments by every other."

Against these and other drawbacks Sidney Herbert laboured manfully and devotedly, but the strain proved

too great for him. In 1860 his health showed unmistakable signs of giving way, and the slight relief afforded him in the conduct of his duties by his elevation to the Peerage as Lord Herbert of Lea came too late. In August 1861 he passed away, perhaps the finest-minded gentleman the War Office has ever harboured within its walls. With his great gifts he might probably, had he wished, have left a greater mark than he did as a statesman and man of affairs. Possessed of an ample fortune he might conceivably have lived a much longer life of cultured and graceful ease. But he loved the Service, and especially the soldier, with a love which thrust all other considerations into the background, and this fine obsession, coupled with opportunity, produced results which will always bring his name honourably to the front whenever and wherever the story of British Army reform is told or the record of the British War Office is under review.

CHAPTER XV

THE NEW WAR OFFICE

AT this point it is expedient that we should retrace our steps to the commencement of the Crimean War, with a view to obtaining a coherent idea of what had been taking place during the past three or four years in regard to the civil side of the new War Department. In Chapters XII. and XIII. a general indication was given of the changes effected, emphasis being laid more particularly on the separation of the Secretaryship of State for War from that of the Colonies, and the abolition of the Board of Ordnance. To carry out these great reforms on the eve, and during the progress, of a great war was a risky proceeding, and in several ways the result was unfortunate, more especially as both the Duke of Newcastle and his successor, Lord Panmure, were men who seem to have preferred that responsibilities should be concentrated in themselves rather than devolve in an orderly course of descent upon subordinates. The changes, however, were made, and they proved to be permanent ones. As they affected very seriously the future course of military administration it is worth while at this juncture to examine them in some detail.

Before 1855 the term "War Office" was applied exclusively to the office of the Secretary-at-War, which, like that of the Commander-in-Chief, was housed in the Horse Guards, Whitehall. We find it so applied in "Murray's Official Handbook" for 1855, and it is to be regretted that there were no further issues of that

publication, as the one for the following year would, in respect to the War Department, have presented a truly remarkable contrast. In a sense the Secretary-at-War had not as yet entirely disappeared. His office had been merged into that of the Secretary of State for War, and his Deputy-Secretary had become an Under-Secretary of State. But in reality the alteration effected was momentous. Although the Secretary-at-War had been possessed of very considerable powers, neither his authority nor his status were those of a Secretary of State, and it would probably have been quite impracticable for him to have absorbed into his department the various other offices which became merged in the department controlled first by the Duke of Newcastle, and later by Lord Panmure and a long line of successors. As it was, the consolidation effected was almost curiously rapid and comprehensive.

The abolition of the Board of Ordnance, already referred to in Chapter XII., was effected in May 1855 by the simple process of revoking the Letters Patent governing the Board's existence and constitution. The principal duties and responsibilities of the Board were, as we have seen, vested in the new Secretary of State for War's Department, but the command and discipline of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, which had hitherto been exercised by the Board, were transferred to the General Commanding-in-Chief, who thus at last became charged with the executive control of all the combatant branches of the Army.

At first the Clerk of the Ordnance, like the Deputy Secretary-at-War, was retained, his functions being those of Executive Officer of the Secretary of State for War, directing all the business of the Supply Departments. These Supply Departments were the result of further changes and demolitions. The Commissariat Department had been taken over from the Treasury,

and the Board of General Officers, which had certain duties in regard to clothing and the examination of cash and stores accounts, and of payments made for non-effective services, was abolished. The first grouping of Supply Departments under the former Clerk of the Ordnance was as follows: (1) Inspector-General of Fortifications, (2) Director-General of Artillery, (3) Naval Director-General of Artillery, (4) Director-General of Stores, (5) Director-General of Contracts, (6) Director-General of Army Clothing, and (7) Accountant-General.

Incidentally two other absorptions had taken place, namely, of the Militia, the business of which had been taken over from the Home Office, and of the Army Medical Department, which had had a rather indeterminately separate existence in St. James's Street.

At the beginning of 1856 a number of temporary clerks were taken on the establishment of the War Department in order to cope with the extra work arising out of the war. Some of these afterwards obtained permanent positions, among them being the late Sir Ralph Knox, who was subsequently associated very closely with Mr. Cardwell's reforms, and ultimately rose to be Permanent Under-Secretary of State. In this year also it was decided to complete the audit of military accounts in the War Office under officers responsible to the Commissioners of Audit. Accordingly, a certain number of clerks whose services were no longer required at the Audit Office were transferred to the War Department, which henceforth became known as the War Office, the department of the Commander-in-Chief being usually known distinctively as the "Horse Guards."

In 1856, then, the condition of affairs was as follows. At the head of the whole administration of the Army was the Secretary of State for War, having under his immediate and separate control the War Office, comprising all the civil administrative offices of the Army.

The only Army department distinct from this, and communicating by letter with the War Office, was that of the Commander-in-Chief, who held, as previously, military control of the army, more particularly as regards discipline. But, as even for the Commander-in-Chief's exercise of his military authority the Secretary of State for War was responsible to Parliament, the separate departmental existence of the "Horse Guards" was subject to restrictions which were gradually tightened until even the semblance of autonomy was completely lost.

For the purpose of housing the new consolidated department the Government acquired what was commonly known as Buckingham House, Pall Mall, a mansion which had been built towards the end of the eighteenth century for George Grenville, Earl Temple, and afterwards first Marquis of Buckingham. It was built from the designs of Sir John Soane, but had no special architectural character outside its rather curious staircase. In the days of the fierce rivalry between Pitt and Fox it was the head-quarters of the Tory party, and was later tenanted by the Tory "Queen of Society," the Duchess of Gordon. It remained in possession of the Dukes of Buckingham until 1848, and was used for the purposes of the Carlton Club during the rebuilding of that institution. A part of old Schomberg House was also included in the premises occupied by the War Office in Pall Mall, upon the site of which the imposing habitation of the Automobile Club now stands. The statue of Lord Herbert of Lea in front of the old War Office has been removed to the courtyard of the new building in Whitehall.

In 1857, we learn from Sir Robert Biddulph's admirable monograph, "Lord Cardwell at the War Office," both the Clerk of the Ordnance and the Deputy Secretary-at-War, now an Under-Secretary of State, were

THE OLD WAR OFFICE

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE, PALL MALL

finally abolished, and in their places an Assistant-Under-Secretary and a Secretary for Correspondence were created. Some minor alterations, too, were made, including the appointment of the Naval Director of Artillery as Director of Stores, with an Assistant-Director representing the former Director of Clothing.

In May 1859 the purely military duties of the Inspector-General of Fortifications were transferred to the Commander-in-Chief, the Inspector-General himself being retained as official adviser of the Secretary of State for War. Simultaneously, the office of Director-General of Artillery was abolished.

Previously to 1859 the Volunteer Force had for many years consisted of only the Honourable Artillery Company and the Yeomanry. The great increase which now took place necessitated the appointment, in 1860, of an Inspector-General of Volunteers.

In 1861 Mr. J. R. Godley, who had been Assistant Under-Secretary of State since 1857, died, and the vacancy was not filled up. The office of Secretary of Military Correspondence, too, was abolished, the holder, Major-General Sir Edward Lugard, being appointed Military Under-Secretary of State, in addition to the Parliamentary and Permanent Under-Secretaries of State already in existence. In 1862 Sir Benjamin Hawes, the Permanent Under-Secretary, died, and his office and the Military Under-Secretaryship were united in Sir Edward Lugard. At the same time the Assistant Under-Secretaryship of State was revived, Mr. Douglas Galton being appointed.

In 1862 the title of the Inspector-General of Fortifications was altered to "Inspector-General of Engineers and Director of Works," and he was given command of the Royal Engineers. He thus became a dimorphous sort of official, as in his capacity of Inspector-General of Engineers he came into direct communication with, and

was subordinate to, the Commander-in-Chief, while as Director of Works he was immediately controlled by the Secretary of State for War.

This catalogue of changes may for the present be brought to a close by recording the transference in 1863 of all business connected with Army clothing from the Stores Department to a separate branch under a Director of Clothing.

All this "chopping and changing" may seem trivial, more especially as in one or two cases there was a plain return to former nomenclature if not to previous practice. But the new department was taking itself very seriously, and the process of reconstruction could hardly have proceeded without a certain amount of experimental organization. There were not a great many precedents to guide those at the head of affairs, and the work of the War Office was yearly growing, if only by reason of the numerous improvements and innovations introduced about this time, more especially during the tenure of the War Secretaryship by Sidney Herbert. The transference of a certain class of business from one official to another may seem a small thing, and the alteration of a departmental head's title a still smaller one. But it is in this tentative way that great reforms of organization are gradually led up to in the intervals between really epoch-making upheavals, such as those which in the case of the War Office occurred in 1855–6, and again in 1870 and 1904.

We may now with propriety revert to the succession of Secretaries of State for War from the death of Lord Herbert of Lea to the arrival on the scene of Mr. Cardwell. The record is not a very inspiring or even interesting one, except in its inclusion of the strong and attractive personality of Lord Hartington. Herbert's immediate successor was Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who was constitutionally unfitted to be a War Minister, and

accepted the appointment greatly against his own inclination. Lewis was a fine scholar and a man of great literary attainments, who had for three years edited the "Edinburgh Review." He had entered Parliament as a man of forty-one in 1847, and in 1855 Palmerston made him Chancellor of the Exchequer in succession to Gladstone, who had resigned in consequence of the appointment of the Sebastopol Committee. Lewis remained in office until the defeat of the Palmerston Ministry in 1858, and when, in the following year, Palmerston returned to power, he waived his claims to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in favour of Gladstone and took the Home Office instead. On the death of Herbert he reluctantly consented to be made Secretary of State for War, and two years later he died, like Herbert, in harness. He was an energetic man with a strong sense of justice which impelled him in one instance—that of a Major Mansergh—to take a line diametrically opposed to that taken by the Duke of Cambridge. Major Mansergh had been suspended for some years, and the Duke would not listen to any representation in his favour. Sir George Lewis, however, thought differently, and, after looking into the case, reinstated the unfortunate officer. In other ways Lewis and the Duke worked together pretty comfortably, but the former, it is said, found difficulty in descending to military details, his point of view being essentially broad and statesmanlike.

On the death of Sir George Cornewall Lewis in 1863 Earl de Grey and Ripon became Secretary of State for War. He was no stranger to the War Office, having served there as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State from 1859 to 1861, when he was succeeded by Mr. Baring, afterwards Lord Northbrook, and again from 1861 to 1863, when his place was taken by Lord Hartington, his future successor in the Secretaryship of State. In

the higher office Lord de Grey remained for three years, but his tenure was comparatively uneventful. Reverting for the moment to his career as Under-Secretary, it may be noted in passing as a somewhat curious coincidence that four statesmen who held the office of Under-Secretary of State for War about this time, Lord de Grey, Lord Northbrook, Lord Dufferin, who was at the War Office in 1866, and Lord Lansdowne, who was Under-Secretary from 1872 to 1874, afterwards rose to be Viceroys of India.

In February 1866 Lord Hartington was for a few months Secretary of State for War. He had previously served as Under-Secretary for some three years under Lord de Grey, having been given the appointment by Lord Palmerston on his return from a tour through the United States, where the Civil War was at its height. With the same keen appreciation of military details which led him later to make a special visit to the battlefield of Sadowa, Lord Hartington had visited the headquarters of both the American armies, and interviewed both Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. As Under-Secretary he took considerable interest in the organization of the new Volunteer Force, but his few months' tenure of the Secretaryship of State in 1866 was only remarkable for the fact that it made him a Cabinet Minister at the age of thirty-three. Appointed, as we shall see, to the same office fourteen years later, he was destined to leave on it an enduring mark, and his statue now stands in appropriately close proximity to the new buildings in Whitehall.

In July 1866 Major-General Jonathan Peel became Secretary of State for War for a second time under Lord Derby, but resigned office in the following year, together with Lord Carnarvon and Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquess of Salisbury, rather than support Disraeli's Reform Bill. He was succeeded by Sir John

Pakington, who also had enjoyed an earlier and very brief tenure of the office. In seeking re-election at Droitwich, Sir John committed a memorable indiscretion by revealing the genesis of what is known in political history as the "Ten Minutes' Bill," a measure Sir John's artless defence of which set all England laughing. A "conscientious and painstaking administrator," he only remained in office until Disraeli's resignation in 1868, at the close of which year Mr. Cardwell commenced a tenure which rapidly placed the records of all his predecessors—Lord Herbert alone excepted—in the shade.

The interval between the close of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns and the coming of Mr. Cardwell to the War Office is one to which it is extremely difficult to do any sort of justice in a work of this kind. It is a period in which, as we have seen, the War Office itself underwent great organic changes, becoming in 1857 something altogether different from what it had been in 1854, and taking rank thenceforward, to an extent hitherto unknown, as a great department of State. But the War Office, even in the days when its constitution was, if not exclusively, at any rate far more distinctly civilian than it is now, could not, of course, divest itself of its dual character. Even with a separate establishment in Pall Mall its communication with the Army itself was so close and constant that it could not fail to be affected by a large proportion of what on the surface may seem to be purely military questions. As a matter of fact the number of purely military questions outside drill, tactics, and field fortification is extremely small. Even strategy, we have recently been assured on high authority, is almost primarily a matter of politics. Of half a dozen other so-called military questions taken at random probably not more than one would be found in which a factor

or factors of serious civilian significance from the social, financial, or physical standpoints did not exist. This circumstance not only lies at the root of the civilian administration of the Army, but has been largely instrumental in preventing that administration from becoming at the worst of times so excessively civilian as to be hopelessly unsympathetic.

During the period in question there is no doubt that the War Office, as distinct from the Horse Guards, was profoundly stirred by the course of events, both at home and abroad, in regard more particularly to military potentialities and contingencies. It would have been strange indeed if it had been otherwise. Three happenings abroad, the development of a very hostile spirit in France in 1858–9, the great Civil War in the United States, and the campaign of Sadowa, were alone calculated to make even the most inveterate office barnacle take an interest in matters outside departmental organization and the conduct of circumlocutory correspondence. Accordingly at this time we can, more especially if we read between the lines, discern a great deal of thoughtful activity at the War Office in regard to many subjects far removed from the ordinary routine of finance and supply with which the department was mainly concerned. Some of this interest was undoubtedly due to the initiative of the Duke of Cambridge, but certainly not all, and it may even be suggested that in one or two directions His Royal Highness, and not the War Office, was the main obstacle to military progress.

Of the foreign developments alluded to above there were four definite results as far as this country was concerned. One was the re-creation of the Volunteer Force on a new basis in 1859; a second, the expenditure of a very large sum—seven and a half millions—on the improvement of our coast defences; a third, the armament of the Infantry with an improved breech-loading

rifle; and the fourth and most important, the institution of a system of Reserves. To this list must be added another and purely domestic innovation, the abolition, namely, of the Purchase System as applied to Army commissions. To several of these new departures separate attention will be given in succeeding chapters, but they may usefully be mentioned collectively here in support of the proposition that at this period, "the commencement of transition," as the "Army Book of the British Empire" rightly terms it, the War Office was quite as busy as the Horse Guards, if not busier, in regard to a number of questions of vital military interest and significance.

As to the relations between the two departments, it is impossible to speak with any great precision if only for the reason that in the ten or twelve years in question no fewer than seven different Secretaries of State—Panmure, Jonathan Peel, Herbert, Lewis, De Grey, Hartington, and Pakington—held sway at the War Office, men of very different characters and attainments, and very variously endowed with the quality of resistance, which is perhaps the most important weapon in the whole armoury of a British War Minister. In Colonel Willoughby Verner's "Military Life of George, Duke of Cambridge," there are printed pleasing testimonials to the cordial relations which existed between most of these statesmen and the Commander-in-Chief. But such courtesies are not entirely convincing, and in any case their significance is discounted by the shortness of the tenures above alluded to. As a matter of fact it is only quite occasionally that a Secretary of State for War feels his feet to the point of direct self-assertiveness in less than two years, and if he does not assert himself it follows, almost as a matter of course, that his relations with his military advisers will be cordial.

It is not altogether certain that this interval, during

which so much was being accomplished, and so much more being done in the way of preparation for the future, was entirely favourable to the development of the Duke's usefulness as a military chief. He still continued to display that sagacity which was his distinguishing characteristic, and many of his memoranda and letters about this time are models of good sense and in some cases display considerable foresight. He himself had been an early advocate of a reserve system, and as far back as 1859 we find him closely examining the question of depôts. On the subject of the volunteers he was eminently firm and sound. There was at one stage a strong movement in favour of organizing the volunteers independently of the military authorities, and against this the Duke protested with timely vehemence. He also pointed out with considerable force the futility of the great volunteer reviews at Brighton and elsewhere. On a variety of other emergent topics he wrote freely and well, all the time consistently upholding his personal dignity with the public and the Army alike.

But the absence of really strong men at the head of the War Office for any but short periods tends to make military chiefs unduly autocratic, and the Duke of Cambridge by 1868 was evidently beginning to regard his position and authority as almost unassailable. Now and then, as in the case of Sir George Lewis's reinstatement of Major Mansergh, he was made to realize that beyond a certain point he was powerless, but his general tendency at this time was to regard the War Office as an inconvenient but inevitable check, the operation of which, however, could without much difficulty be avoided or modified if not annulled. If the constantly broken succession of mediocre War Secretaries had continued much longer the Duke would probably have become almost as absolute a Commander-in-Chief as

even he could have desired. But before that not altogether desirable eventuality could be realized the six years' tenure of the War Secretaryship by Mr. Cardwell intervened, providing by the way a striking illustration of the inconvenience usually experienced by earthen pots when travelling down rapid streams in company with iron ones.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COMING OF CARDWELL

EDWARD CARDWELL was born at Liverpool, where his father was in business as a merchant, in 1813. He passed from Winchester to Balliol, of which, after taking a scholarship and a double first, he became a fellow. He was called to the Bar in 1838, but left it for public life, entering Parliament as a Peelite in 1842. To Peel personally he was much attached, and he acted as one of his literary executors, but later he turned to Liberalism, and as a Liberal rose to be successively President of the Board of Trade, Secretary for Ireland, and Colonial Secretary. During his tenure of the last-named office from 1864 to 1866 Mr. Cardwell pushed forward a new policy the realization of which came to have an important bearing upon his subsequent work as an Army reformer. At that time a large proportion of the British Army was serving in the Colonies. In 1854, out of a general total of about 140,000, not many more than half were serving at home, some 40,000 being stationed in the Colonies and the remainder in India. It is generally believed that the colonial garrisons were maintained at this strength largely in order to prevent reductions which would certainly have been demanded had the whole force been in evidence at home. Such an expedient could not remain effective for ever, and accordingly in the early 'sixties the principle was adopted of withdrawing from the Colonies in time of peace all Imperial troops for which the Colonies would not undertake to pay. Mr. Cardwell may thus be said to have been one

of the founders of the modern systems of colonial self-government and self-defence.

Mr. Cardwell, described by Justin M'Carthy as "to all appearance one of the coldest and least warlike of men," joined Gladstone's Administration as Secretary of State for War in December 1868. The task before him was of many-sided difficulty, and one from which a lesser man might well have shrunk. The nation was fully awakened to the necessity for Army reforms, and the campaign of Sadowa had driven home the fact that much had been done on the Continent while we had been standing still. On the other hand the Government was pledged to reduce the Estimates. The situation as regards the War Secretariat was still further complicated by the growing demand for reform in one particular direction—that of the buying and selling of Army commissions—in regard to which unremunerative expenditure on a very large scale was unavoidable.

Speaking broadly, Mr. Cardwell on taking up office was faced with the urgent necessity of proceeding more or less simultaneously along three lines of advance. He had to complete, and in the process of completion to modify, the scheme of departmental reconstruction which had been commenced in 1854, and to the development of which considerable space was devoted in the last chapter. Secondly, he had to take steps to check the growing scandals connected with the Army Purchase System. Lastly, our military organization, now in a particularly bad way owing to the increasing difficulty of obtaining recruits, obviously called for drastic and comprehensive changes. With extraordinary courage and tenacity Mr Cardwell advanced boldly along all these three lines, and, long before his tenure came to its honourable close, he had in all three cases won decisive victories. From some standpoints it would be preferable, perhaps, to take a synchronized view of his advance, but the three lines are so clearly

distinct that the balance of advantage seems to lie in regarding them separately. As this is primarily the story of the War Office, precedence will be given to the unification of that institution, which Cardwell carried to a triumphant conclusion in less than three years. But the other two subjects, the abolition of " Purchase " and the institution of short service and localization, can hardly be reckoned as being much less closely associated with the War Office, for both had their origin in the civil side of that institution, and in regard to neither would much progress have in all probability been made for years had the matter rested solely with the Duke of Cambridge and his staff.

In connexion with War Office administration, as indeed in all other connexions, Mr. Cardwell took an excellent preliminary step on becoming Secretary of State for War by stipulating that his Parliamentary Under-Secretary should be Lord Northbrook, who already, as Mr. Thomas Baring, had served for a few months at the War Office in the same capacity in 1861. Lord Northbrook was some thirteen years younger than Mr. Cardwell, and possessed, in addition to great talents and considerable industry, a delightful personality which the Secretary of State for War subsequently employed to excellent purpose in smoothing down difficulties which occasionally arose in his own intercourse with the Duke of Cambridge. In the latter's Diary Mr. Cardwell is described in December 1868 as " a most gentleman-like man with whom it will be pleasant to work, " but subsequently there was a certain amount of friction which would probably have been much greater but for the tactful intervention of the future Governor-General of India. Lord Wolseley, who joined the headquarters staff in 1871, greatly admired Lord Northbrook. He describes him as a thorough-going man of business, distinguished by his power of work, military intuition, and the amount of study he had bestowed upon

the organization of foreign armies. "He supported Mr. Cardwell in all his proposed reforms, and convinced him of others that were still required."

Almost immediately after his appointment as Under-Secretary of State for War Lord Northbrook was made Chairman of a Committee to inquire into the "Conduct of Business in Army Departments." The investigation was most thoroughly carried out, and the Committee furnished three successive Reports, one in March 1869, a second the following May, and a third in February 1870. Practically the whole of the recommendations of this Committee were adopted, with additions due to the organizing genius of Mr. Cardwell, and its work takes rank with that of the Hartington and Esher Committees as having exercised a notably serious and enduring influence upon the conduct of our military affairs.

In the preceding chapter a variety of changes in the staffing of the War Office anterior to 1868 were detailed. Before we pass to the great reorganization effected in 1870 there are one or two additional alterations which took place in 1868 to be recorded. The most important of these was the appointment of a second military Under-Secretary of State, Major-General Sir Henry Storks, with the title of Controller-in-Chief, the Commissariat, Purveyors', Barrack, Military Store, Clothing, and Contract Departments being placed under him. Another change was the abolition of the offices of Inspector-General of Militia and Inspector-General of Reserve Forces, and the amalgamation of the two into an Inspector-Generalship of Reserve Forces.

At the beginning, then, of 1869 the higher administration of the War Office comprised the following principal officers. At the head, of course, was the Secretary of State for War, the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. Immediately under him were three Under-Secretaries of State, one Parliamentary—Lord Northbrook—the other

two, Major-Generals Sir Edward Lugard and Sir Henry Storks, Military. The Inspector-General of Fortifications was Major-General Frome, and the Director-General of Ordnance Major-General John Lefroy. Sir T. G. Logan was Director-General of the Army Medical Department, Sir T. Howell Director of Contracts, Mr. G. Ramsay Director of Clothing, and Sir W. J. T. Power Commissary-General-in-Chief. The newly created Inspector-Generalship of Reserve Forces was held by Major-General the Hon. J. Lindsay. Sir William Brown was Accountant-General, and Mr. Henry Whiffin Chief Auditor of Army Accounts. The Chaplain-General was the Rev. G. R. Gleig, the well-known military writer.

Mr. Cardwell's reorganization of the War Office was formulated in the War Office Act of 1870. This remarkable measure not only cleared the way for a striking series of departmental changes; it also affirmed with unprecedented clearness a great constitutional principle. By it, with the concurrence of Parliament and the Crown, the direct and immediate control of every branch whatsoever of Army administration were vested in the Secretary of State for War. To assist him in the exercise of his power of control the Secretary of State was henceforth to have the assistance of two, not three, Under-Secretaries of State, one Parliamentary and one Permanent.

The actual Army administration was to fall for the future under three heads: (1) Military; (2) Control or Supply, and (3) Financial. Thus three new great departments came to be formed under officers, any or all of whom might, under the War Office Act, be in Parliament. First came the Military Department under the Officer Commanding-in-Chief, to whom was entrusted the charge of the combatant *personnel* of all Regular and irregular forces. Next came the Department of the Surveyor-General of Ordnance—a post reviving one of the titles in the defunct Board of Ordnance—under whom were all

civil administrative duties except the Pay Department, and who also was to deal with the purchase, construction, and charge of *matériel.* Thirdly, there was the Department of the Financial Secretary who, in addition to controlling the Pay Department, was to be responsible to the Secretary of State for the Army Estimates, and for the appropriation, accounting, and audit of all funds voted thereon.

Outside the above three administrative departments there was to be a fourth, in which all such constitutional and other matters as did not specifically pertain to any of the three great offices detailed above were to be dealt with. This was called the Central Department, and was placed under the two Under-Secretaries of State.

The introduction of this scheme of reorganization necessitated some immediate and drastic changes. An Under-Secretaryship of State had to be abolished, and a Surveyor-Generalship of Ordnance and Financial Secretaryship created. Another new appointment was that of Director-General of Military Education. The Director-General of Ordnance and Commissary-General-in-Chief ceased to exist, and a Director of Surveys, who had formerly been under the War Office, was transferred to the Office of Works. The Inspector-General of Reserve Forces became the Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces, and passed, like the Chaplain-General and Director-General of the Medical Department, from the civil to the military side. Finally, the offices of Accountant-General and Chief Auditor of Army Accounts were reunited.

Let us now take a view of the War Department as reorganized in 1870 from the personal standpoint. After the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Cardwell, came the two Under-Secretaries of State, Lord Northbrook, Parliamentary, and Sir E. Lugard, Permanent. These were in charge of the Central Department, the Chief Clerk of which was Mr. Clere Talbot, appointed to a similar position in

the old War Office in 1866. In 1870 the only other important official in the Central Department was the Solicitor, Mr. Charles Clode, who had been appointed under the former régime in 1858, and had in 1869 published an important work on "The Military Forces of the Crown." In regard to this office we may anticipate a little by mentioning that the functions of the Solicitor to the War Office were in 1877 transferred to the Treasury, Mr. Clode being created Legal Secretary to the War Department, and holding this appointment till 1880, when it was abolished.

Turning now to the three greater departments, we have H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge as General Commanding-in-Chief—he was not actually given the style of "Commander-in-Chief" till seventeen years later—in charge of the Military Department, having as his principal staff officers Sir Richard Airey, now Adjutant-General, Sir F. P. Haines, Quartermaster-General, and Lieutenant-General W. F. Forster, Military Secretary. Of these by far the most notable was Sir Richard, afterwards Lord, Airey, against whom, it will be remembered, charges of incompetence in connexion with the Crimea had been quite unsuccessfully levelled in 1855, and who now stood higher, perhaps, than any living soldier in the public estimation. Lord Wolseley says that Sir Richard was the wisest and ablest soldier it was ever his lot to do business with, and declares that he never knew anyone in an army who was better fitted for high military command. "Thoroughly educated in the science, as well as conversant with the practice, of his profession, he could teach all ranks their duty. Cool, collected, never excited, he understood mankind and all its weaknesses, and, what is of great advantage to the highly-placed staff officer at Army Headquarters, he was well connected, and was intimate with what is commonly known as 'Society.'"

Sir Frederick Paul Haines, the Quartermaster-General,

had seen a good deal of varied service, chiefly in India, to which he returned later, first as Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, later becoming Commander-in-Chief in India, and ultimately a Field-Marshal. General W. F Forster had been Military Secretary since 1860, and, like Sir Richard Airey, was on terms of close personal intimacy with the Duke of Cambridge. He only retained office under the new dispensation for a short time, being succeeded in 1871 by Major-General C. R. Egerton.

Besides the above three principal staff officers there were grouped together, under the Commander-in-Chief, Sir James Lindsay, Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces, who afterwards, in 1874, became Military Secretary; Lieutenant-General W. C. E. Napier, Director-General of Military Education and afterwards Governor of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst; Major-General C. A. Edwards, Inspector-General of Recruiting, who had been appointed to this office some three years before; Sir T. G. Logan, Director-General, Medical Department, also of three years' standing; and the Rev. G. R. Gleig, Chaplain-General, who had served in this capacity since 1844.

At the head of the new Ordnance Department we find Major-General Sir Henry Storks, formerly Military Under-Secretary of State, and described by Stocqueler as an officer of rare distinction and ability. Sir Henry entered Parliament a little later, and was throughout one of Mr. Cardwell's most trusty helpers. In the Ordnance Department, as it was in 1870, we find five divisions presided over, respectively, by the Director of Supplies and Transport, Sir W. Power, formerly Commissary-General-in-Chief; the Director of Artillery and Stores, Sir John Adye, a highly distinguished and accomplished Gunner-General; the Director of Contracts, Sir T. Howell, previously appointed in 1855; the Director of Clothing, Mr. George Ramsay, who had held the same post since 1863; and the Inspector-General of Fortifications, Sir F. Chapman.

Lastly, we come to the Finance Department, presided over in 1870 by the Hon. J. C. Vivian, and in the following year by Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Campbell-Bannerman, subsequently Secretary of State for War and Prime Minister. In this department there was only one division, that of the Accountant-General, the post in 1870 being held by Mr. H. W. S. Whiffin, formerly Chief Auditor of Army Accounts.

Although, as will be seen later, there was still much to be done before the War Office could be regarded as a thoroughly businesslike and shipshape machine, the improvement wrought by putting the recommendations of the Northbrook Committee into practice can readily be appreciated. At last something practical was being done in the direction of devolution of responsibility, the absence of which, as indicated in Chapters XIII. and XV., had pressed so particularly heavily upon the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Panmure, and Lord Herbert. Now, interposed between the Secretary of State for War and the numerous heads of divisions, more especially on the civil side of the War Office, were great departmental chiefs, with clearly defined responsibilities and functions, and invested, too, with no small authority. Here at once was a distinct advance upon the system under which less than a score of years back a Secretary of State had to choose between being overworked and overworried, or letting his work for the most part slide.

Regarded solely from the standpoint of reorganization the results described above were remarkable, but they were rendered still more so by the further steps which Mr. Cardwell took to unify the whole administrative system at head-quarters by bringing the Military and Civil Departments under one roof. Before 1870 the Commander-in-Chief's Department had not only been entirely separate from the War Office Departments in Pall Mall as regards administration and correspondence,

but it had been separately housed, as we have seen, at the Horse Guards. This system undoubtedly aggrandized the authority of the Commander-in-Chief — especially, perhaps, of a Royal Commander-in-Chief—producing a sort of *imperium in imperio* very pleasing to military susceptibilities, because it kept in the background the supremacy of the Secretary of State and lessened the chances of Parliamentary interference with the domestic affairs of the Army. But there were obvious drawbacks, especially as regards correspondence. In many cases it was absurd that letters should pass between Pall Mall and Whitehall when the matter could be settled personally in five minutes. Moreover, Mr. Cardwell was evidently of opinion that the time had come for a more complete assertion of the Secretary of State's authority as formulated in the War Office Act. Accordingly, not many months were allowed to elapse between the passing of the latter and the transference of the new Military Department, with the Commander-in-Chief at its head, from the Horse Guards to Buckingham House, Pall Mall.

The change, as may be imagined, was not carried out very easily or smoothly. At first, it would seem, Mr. Cardwell had either no immediate intention of carrying it out, or was doubtful of its practicability. In Colonel Willoughby Verner's "Military Life of the Duke of Cambridge" there is some interesting correspondence on the subject, from which it would appear that the Duke, fearing that the question of transference was being debated, appealed to the Queen, who forthwith wrote with her usual directness to Mr. Cardwell, expressing a strong hope that nothing of the kind was in contemplation. Mr. Cardwell hastened to reassure Her Majesty, declaring her apprehensions to be quite baseless. But not many months later we find him, fortified by the Northbrook Committee Report, writing to the Duke of Cambridge in, if one may judge from the Duke's replies, a very different strain, and

intimating pretty clearly that the transfer would have to take place.

The Duke protested warmly. In particular he urged, with some force, that the change would involve a weakening of his authority, and he almost pleaded that instead of being himself "moved" to Pall Mall he should be allowed to remain at the Horse Guards and go over to see the Secretary of State whenever necessary. But Mr. Cardwell was not given to half measures, amd he was utterly and completely master of the situation. In due course, therefore, the Military Department, bag and baggage, went over to Pall Mall and became part and parcel of the War Office. Stocqueler's "Personal History of the Horse Guards" was written about the time of the transfer, and, although he was a civilian, and by no means blindly devoted to the Duke of Cambridge, he evidently concurred with the latter in regarding the change of quarters with marked disfavour. "It is not probable," he says, "that much time and trouble has been saved by the process of removal." This statement was published in 1873, and some idea of its accuracy may be gathered from the fact that in the previous year, when the transfer had only recently been accomplished, it had been found that the official correspondence of the War Office, which had formerly totalled 1500 letters a day, had been reduced, thanks to the unification, to 900.

There is something almost pathetic in the way in which the Duke of Cambridge and his faithful henchmen, Sir Richard Airey and General Forster, tried to avert the coming catastrophe. In October 1871 we find Sir Richard writing hastily as follows to his chief: "I consider it necessary that Y.R.H. should be present during this month when all details are arranging for submission by Mr. Cardwell to the Cabinet, when I am quite unequal to combat ideas of five civilians inspired by Lord Northbrook who is an 'out-and-outer' and backed by Mr. Knox who

has not a military idea in his conformation. I find Mr. Cardwell by himself *by far* the most reasonable and right-thinking of the whole party."

What made the Duke's position additionally awkward was the fact that he had apparently been placed by the Government in general, and by Mr. Cardwell in particular, under a sort of obligation in regard to his tenure of the Commander-in-Chiefship. Under the War Office Act the tenure of military staff appointments was limited to five years, and there was talk of imposing a similar limit in regard to the Chiefship. The Queen intervened on behalf of her cousin, and urged that the Duke should, in view of the special nature of his appointment, be exempted from this rule. The Government conceded the point, on which it could without much difficulty have insisted, and, according to Mr. Cardwell, the understanding was that, in return for the concession, the Duke would not only loyally co-operate with the Government in carrying out their plans of Army reform, but would also if necessary support their military policy from his seat in the House of Lords. In June 1871 Mr. Cardwell put this view very pointedly to the Duke, which one imagines he would hardly have dared to do unless some proposition of the sort had been made to His Royal Highness at the time when the exemption from the five-years rule was granted. Nor did the Duke repudiate the suggestion with the indignation he might reasonably have been expected to exhibit. He argued with some skill that the Commander-in-Chief should be free from any trammels of political partisanship, but on at least one occasion he deferred to Mr. Cardwell's wishes, and was duly thanked by him for doing so. Later he proved more recalcitrant, and Mr. Cardwell apparently grew tired of pressing the point. But the fact remains that the Duke had secured an exemption of enormous material as well as sentimental value, and Mr. Cardwell, one of the most clear-headed and straightforward of men,

was evidently under the impression that the Duke was to some extent under an obligation to maintain a very different attitude from that which he did unquestionably maintain in respect to the whole series of reforms then in progress. On high moral grounds a Government can hardly be commended for making bargains of this sort. On the other hand the Duke's procedure seems somewhat equivocal. If there were any such bargain he ought certainly to have abided by it or have resigned. If there were not it is surprising that he did not repudiate it with such force as to weaken Mr. Cardwell's position and strengthen his own, with the almost certain result of postponing *sine die* the dreaded removal to Pall Mall.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ABOLITION OF PURCHASE

THE manner in which commissions in the British Army came to be bought and sold has already been described in Chapter IX. There it was explained that Army pay is really a survival of the old days of the merchant adventurers, when those subordinately employed in an enterprise were given payments, partly by way of retaining fee, partly for purposes of subsistence, pending the happy time when a fuller reward should accrue in the shape of loot, or as the result of holding rich prisoners to ransom. The superior posts in connexion with such enterprises—"commissions" as they came to be called when the service to be performed was the Sovereign's—were given to those who invested money in the adventure, or to their nominees, and such posts accordingly acquired a distinct pecuniary value, and became to some extent negotiable. When troops began to be raised under "letters of service" the system of selling commissions in the Army became more and more firmly established, until in the palmy days of Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke it was possible to make it the basis of a nefarious traffic. It may seem strange to modern readers that that monumental scandal did not open the eyes of the public to the evils of the system, and bring about immediate reforms. But a little reflection will show how unfavourable contemporary circumstances and ideas were to any such result.

The Army of those days was the King's Army in a

sense which of late years has been gradually obscured by the growing authority of the Secretary of State for War, and, as long as it did its fighting work properly in time of war, and did not objectionably assert itself in time of peace, the great bulk of the public cared very little what it did, what became of it, or how it was managed, provided always that the cost of maintaining the country's brave defenders was kept within strictly moderate limits. In the Army itself, again, there was a corresponding slackness of ideas regarding the qualifications of the officers, whose education or behaviour were held to be matters of comparatively trivial significance as long as they belonged, so to speak, to the military caste. Under such conditions any disturbance of the system by which commissions were bought and sold was practically impossible. To the public it would have meant additional expenditure in an unpopular direction, to the Army the disappearance of a means by which men with well-filled purses—who were in the majority among holders of commissions—could rapidly buy themselves to a comparatively high rank, and then by judicious retirement recoup themselves for their previous disbursements.

But the institution was, of course, essentially vicious. "As a system," says Lord Wolseley, "it was not only the most objectionable and glaring of our military anachronisms, but in time of peace it blocked every avenue to the advancement of merit." Under it all sorts of absurd anomalies flourished. Youthful majors and lieutenant-colonels commanded grey-haired captains and middle-aged subalterns. The notorious Lord Cardigan, whose performances Macaulay was called upon to defend in Parliament, bought himself up from a cornetcy to a lieutenant-colonelcy in a cavalry regiment in seven years. Not only was any attempt to select officers for the command of regiments obviously

out of the question, but vested interests were so strong, and "Purchase" had acquired such a grip upon the Army, that even rankly incompetent officers were seldom if ever denied promotion provided they could pay for it.

The prices of commissions were first fixed by Royal Warrant in 1719–20. The "regulation" price of a first commission was £450, and each subsequent step up to and including lieutenant-colonel had to be paid for, unless there were a death vacancy, in which case promotion went by seniority. It should be mentioned that a certain number of free first commissions were available, usually by favour of exalted personages. One of these, it will be remembered, was procured by Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke (see Chapter VIII.) for her footman. But in the great majority of cases appointment to, and promotion in, the commissioned ranks of the Army was simply a matter of money payment. So fully recognized was the system that, when an Act for abolishing the sale of offices under Government came to be passed in the reign of George III, the Crown expressly reserved the discretion of continuing the sale of Army commissions.

What made matters very much worse was that, side by side with what may be termed the regulation system of Purchase, there had grown up a practice of "over-regulation payments" with a view to providing special inducements to officers to retire before they might otherwise have done in favour of juniors with long purses and the ambition to rise quickly. A Royal Commission which in 1856 inquired into the working of the Purchase System elicited the fact that, while the regulation price of a cavalry lieutenant-colonelcy was £6175, the usual price paid was £14,000. An Army Agent deposed that he had known as much as £16,000, and on one occasion £18,000, to be given. In the Foot Guards the regulation price of a company was £4800,

and of a lieutenant-colonelcy £9000; the prices usually given were £9000 and £13,200. In the Line £2400 was commonly paid for promotion to a captaincy, which ought by regulation to have cost £1300, while the over-regulation price of a lieutenant-colonelcy brought the payment up from £4500 to £7000.

It was of very little use to denounce the practice of over-regulation payments as illegal. The transaction was usually a private one, and as a rule it was to no one's interest to reveal it. Now and then there was a scandal, but it soon blew over. One such case is mentioned by Stocqueler as having occurred in 1859. An Army tailor, wishing to get his son a commission, applied to a not very reputable firm of Agents, who agreed to procure a nomination for a sum of £400 in addition to the regulation £450. With the help of an individual who had access to the Duke of Cambridge a nomination was procured, and in due course the youngster was gazetted. The Agents and their employés quarrelled over the division of the £400, and one of those interested turned informer. The Secretary of State for War was compelled to prosecute, a conviction was easily obtained, and the three principal offenders, a Jermyn Street tailor and two Agents, underwent six months' imprisonment. But all the time, and for nearly a dozen years afterwards, over-regulation payments were being made almost weekly, and the War Office was perfectly well aware of the circumstance.

Incidentally Purchase, especially over-regulation Purchase, must have been very acceptable to Army Agents, apart from any commission accruing to them in their transactions. In the first place it made it comparatively safe to advance officers very considerable sums on the security of their commissions. Secondly, as it was the practice for an officer, or his relations or friends, to deposit the purchase money for his next step well in

advance of a contemplated vacancy, Agents had always large sums lying in their hands, sometimes for quite considerable periods. It goes without saying that substantial advantages like these made the business of Army Agents very much more profitable than it can possibly be nowadays, when the majority of accounts are from the banking standpoint insignificant, and there is no occasion, even for wealthy officers, to keep large sums lying idle on the chance of their being required at short notice.

No Army reformer probably ever set about his self-appointed task with thicker walls of opposition and prejudice before him than Mr. Cardwell had in 1870. On the one side there were the vested interests of the officers, which in any case had to be respected as regards regulation payments, and on the other the public knowledge that abolition of purchase would mean the spending of several millions for a purpose which would only indirectly promote efficiency, and which would not increase the Army by a man or a gun. It is wonderful that Mr. Cardwell, when he contemplated these obstacles, did not altogether lose heart. Perhaps to some extent he did, for in 1870 he offered to retire in favour of a soldier, but was happily dissuaded by Mr. Gladstone, who, after alluding to his War Secretary's combined administrative ability and statesmanship, said: "Show me the soldier who has these qualities equally with you, and then let him take your place. But not till then."

There is little doubt that, but for Gladstone's unwavering support, more especially as regards the financial difficulties involved, the abolition of Purchase in 1871 would have proved impossible. As it was, both the Army and the nation were taken by surprise when, with the Army Estimates of 1871, an Army Regulation Bill was brought in for, with other purposes, that of dealing once and for all with this huge and troublesome question.

Still more disconcerting was the attitude, at once resolute and conciliatory, adopted by the Secretary of State for War. Mr. Cardwell evidently "meant business." He had found the Army, as he said, "in pledge" to its officers, and he intended to redeem it. But vested interests were to be respected, and a sum of seven millions was to be devoted to compensation.

A campaign of obstruction commenced forthwith. All sorts of amendments were proposed, and all manner of discussions raised, and speakers, using the same arguments, repeated themselves over and over again. Especially noticeable was the eager craving for economy on the part of men who had never before shown the least interest in the saving of public money, but who now inveighed solemnly against the expenditure proposed for purposes of compensation. So vehement and persistent was the antagonism of the Conservatives to the scheme that the Government, which had hoped to carry not only the abolition of Purchase but also a scheme of general Army reorganization, temporarily dropped the latter, and concentrated its attention on the former. After a stout resistance on the part of the Opposition, the Bill finally passed its third reading in the Commons early in July.

There were not wanting at this stage hints of the exercise of Horse Guards influence against the Government measure. The Duke of Cambridge seems to have been fairly discreet, but it was generally accepted that he regarded Purchase as having on the whole worked very well, and that, while he admitted the liberality of the terms offered, he would greatly have preferred to keep things as they were. Neither Mr. Cardwell nor his chief were inclined to tolerate the assumption that the Commander-in-Chief's objections, real or fancied, to a measure such as the one in question made much difference. The Secretary of State for War roundly

declared that it was "of course necessary for the Commander-in-Chief to be in harmony with the Government of the day." Mr. Gladstone, with the Queen's approval, told the House that the military plans and measures of the Government must always have the energetic co-operation of the chiefs of the Army.

But the Bill had yet to pass the Lords. Before it came up for discussion there was a meeting of Conservative Peers, and it was arranged that the Bill should be hung up on its second reading by a clever amendment. In due course the measure was introduced, and hardly a soldier spoke in favour of it. Among its strongest opponents were Lords Lucan and Strathnairn. Then came the amendment proposed by the Duke of Richmond, to the effect that the House of Lords was unwilling to agree to the motion for a second reading until a complete and comprehensive scheme of Army reform was laid before it. This amendment was carried on 17 July, and for the moment the Bill was effectively shelved.

The triumph of the Conservative Peers was short-lived. The Cabinet met the next day, and the Government proceeded to advise the Queen to deal with the question of Purchase by Royal Warrant. It was on a Royal Warrant that the system was based. The House of Commons had pronounced against the system, and the House of Lords had not directly rejected, but had merely blocked, the Bill proposing the abolition of that system. Accordingly Her Majesty was asked to issue a new Royal Warrant, declaring that on and after the first of November all regulations made by Her Majesty or any of her predecessors regulating or fixing the prices at which commissions might be bought, or in any way authorizing the purchase or sale of such commissions, should be cancelled. The Queen raised no objection to signing the Warrant, but demanded that, having regard

to the exceptional circumstances of the case, she should be supported by a formal expression of the Cabinet's advice. A Cabinet minute was accordingly prepared and the Warrant issued.

Both Houses of Parliament, and indeed both political parties, were taken completely by surprise. Among the Conservative members of the House of Commons great indignation was expressed, especially by Mr. Disraeli, who stigmatized what had taken place as "a shameful and avowed conspiracy of the Cabinet against the privileges of the Upper House." Mr. Fawcett, the blind Member for Cambridge University, also condemned Mr. Gladstone's line of action very strongly. But it was impossible to question its legality, and Lord Selborne, formerly Sir Roundell Palmer, one of the greatest lawyers of the day, unhesitatingly expressed the opinion that procedure by Warrant was "within the undoubted power of the Crown."

The Conservative Peers were, of course, checkmated. As Justin M'Carthy says, there was now practically nothing for them to discuss. "All that was left of the Government scheme on which the Peers could have anything to say was that part of the Bill which provided compensation for those whom the abolition of the system of purchase would deprive of certain vested interests. For the Lords to reject the Bill as it now stood would merely be to say that such officers should have no compensation." Accordingly the Bill became law, the Lords contenting themselves with a querulous resolution censuring the Government for having attained its objects "by the exercise of the Prerogative and without the aid of Parliament."

There are many of both political parties who regard the course taken by Mr. Gladstone on this occasion as a very mistaken one. It is argued that the sudden interposition of the Royal prerogative in order to cut

short a controversy which was being carried on quite decorously on ordinary Parliamentary lines was not only an unprecedented but an unworthy procedure. It is also urged that it was really superfluous, as the obstruction of the House of Lords could only have proved temporarily effective. Lastly, the course adopted was, party-politically speaking, a doubtful one, since, notwithstanding the Liberal exultation which followed the discomfiture of the Conservative Peers, many of the Government's best supporters were greatly disturbed by what had occurred, and "among the many influences already combining to weaken Mr. Gladstone's authority the impression produced by this stroke of policy was not the least powerful."

The writer hesitates to obtrude his personal opinion on a question which has been so widely and authoritatively dealt with. But his small testimony in favour of Mr. Gladstone is at least sincere, as he is a lifelong Conservative with, in particular, a strong anti-Gladstone bias. His conviction is that, taking everything into consideration, the course adopted was both the right and the only one which could safely be adopted by a really high-minded statesman bent on carrying out a monumental measure of reform in which he was most deeply and conscientiously interested. There is no getting over the fact that the opposition to the abolition of Purchase was, not only ignorantly fatuous and illogical, but also unscrupulous to the last degree. The manner in which the subject was dealt with by hostile critics in the House of Commons can only be described as contemptibly tricky. Lord Wolseley, who at this time often went to the House in order to assist Mr. Cardwell in case the latter should want information upon some emergent point of military detail, says it was interesting for him as a party-politics hater to watch the shifts and ruses resorted to by those who objected to Mr. Cardwell's proposed changes. In Society, more particularly by

"mothers with stupid soldier sons," the Secretary of State for War was denounced "as bent upon destroying the Army which our Great Duke had bequeathed us," and, if one troubled to dig out some of the intrigues set on foot from this quarter alone, one would probably have reason to be ashamed for contemporary Conservative want of scruple as well as of ordinary intelligence. As to the Duke of Richmond's amendment in the House of Lords, no more transparent piece of political chicanery in the face of an adequate Commons majority has ever been recorded.

The very worst that can possibly be said of Mr. Gladstone is that he met trick by trick and won. The interests at stake were enormous. The security of the country demanded that prompt measures should be taken for the reorganization of our Army, and it was obvious to any but bigots of the most inveterate kind that such a reorganization could not be satisfactorily carried out under a system which gave merit and keenness no sort of a chance unless backed up by money. As a side-issue there was the grave question of entrusting the lives of British soldiers, in conflict, perhaps, with the highly trained and well-officered armies of the Continent, to men who in a few years had risen rapidly to responsible commands merely because they had been able to deposit with their Agents sufficient sums to buy successive steps and effect useful exchanges. Opposed to the abolition of a preposterous anachronism was a collection of vested interests in close alliance with strong aristocratic prejudices and a horror of anything in the way of change or progress. As long as the antagonism was confined to Parliamentary argument, however specious, Mr. Gladstone tolerated it, but, when barefaced trickery was resorted to, he lost patience and carried the position by a *coup de main,* the sheer audacity of which ought to have impressed, and doubtless did

impress, the majority of his most bitter military opponents.

There is another aspect in which Mr. Gladstone's action appears rather curiously attractive, namely, in the emphasis it laid upon the special relationship existing between the Sovereign and the Army. It was an apt reminder of what the Sovereign can do in regard to the fighting Services without necessarily invoking the aid of Parliament, and it was a strangely ironical circumstance that, while an attempt to preserve the "vested interests" of Army officers was being made the object of some not very creditable Parliamentary manœuvres, the exercise of the Queen's prerogative in the cancellation of the old Purchase Warrant should have demonstrated with overwhelming force the fact that a commission, however obtained, is, from first to last, only held by Royal favour.

The *fait accompli* is nowhere more quickly and fully recognized than in a disciplined Service, and, with the coming into operation of the Royal Warrant on 1 November, 1871, Purchase passed quickly out of sight except as regards the compensation for "vested interests," which was entrusted to a Commission, and proved, as might be expected, a troublesome and complicated business. Of course there was grumbling, and the writer well remembers that, when he joined his regiment some nine years later, his first captain was at great pains to impress upon him that "they" had more or less improperly retained a considerable sum which was more or less indisputably the captain's private property. But anything in the way of agitation was useless, and the situation soon came to be philosophically accepted, the more so as under the new régime the army was becoming far less attractive than it had formerly been to the type of officer to whom the purchase system was chiefly beneficial. The entrance examinations were growing stiffer, and, although there was still the Militia "backdoor" by which a

commission could be procured with far less intellectual effort than the passage through Sandhurst demanded, the advantages of the R.M.C. were beginning to be very generally appreciated. The influence of the Staff College, too, was now steadily in the ascendant and was being felt more and more at Army head-quarters. In 1875 the rule that commissions in the Cavalry and Infantry should, as in the Artillery and Engineers, be granted solely as the result of a competitive examination, came into force, and some six years later examinations for promotion were instituted. Thus in about ten years not only were the days of Purchase beginning to be regarded as belonging to ancient history, but an altogether new school of thought had arisen in the Army in which brains were given at least an equal chance with money and "connexions."

Organically speaking the abolition of Purchase did not make much difference to the War Office, except as regards the post of Military Secretary. This was vacated in 1871 by Lieutenant-General W. F. Forster and taken up by Major-General C. R. Egerton, as to whose appointment the Commander-in-Chief does not seem to have been left much choice. The creation of the Army Purchase Commission, already alluded to, was another necessary step. It is an interesting circumstance that at the time of writing there is a survival of the Commission in the person of one Honorary Commissioner, General Sir Robert Biddulph, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., and Colonel Commandant R.A. This notable veteran of the Crimean, Indian Mutiny, and China campaigns has a specially honourable record in connexion with the abolition of Purchase as he was Mr. Cardwell's Private Secretary. No better tribute to the memory of his great chief could be desired than his "Lord Cardwell at the War Office," a model of what such a memoir should be, and a mine of information upon which the present writer has not hesitated to draw freely.

This chapter cannot be more appropriately concluded than by borrowing Lord Wolseley's excellent parting words on the subject of Mr. Cardwell's great reform. "This measure cost the country a large lump sum of money and it imposed a considerable increase in annual Army expenditure for many years afterwards. And yet it was planned and successfully carried out by the most economical of Governments, and by about the greatest economy-loving member in that Government, because he felt assured that, until the Army was repurchased, as it were, from the officers who had bought their positions in its ranks, it never could be made the thoroughly efficient force the nation wanted."

CHAPTER XVIII

SHORT SERVICE

WE now come to the third and supreme reform effected by Mr. Cardwell, the reorganization, namely, of our Army on a short-service basis, associated with which were the introduction of the linked-battalion system, and the localization of regiments. As this is a history of the War Office, not of the Army, it will not be necessary to deal with the Cardwell reorganization scheme in great detail, but it cannot be lightly passed over since, apart from the fact that it emanated almost entirely from the civil side of the War Office, its introduction had a marked effect upon the whole conduct of that institution, lifting it to a higher level, and causing it to be regarded on all sides with increased respect. If an example in proof of this be desired it is only necessary to contrast the attitude of the public towards Army headquarters at the close of the Crimean War with the general feeling of satisfaction evoked by the Egyptian Expedition of 1882. The victories gained in the former case were far more brilliantly impressive, and the war was altogether more important and touched the heart of the nation far more deeply than the suppression of Arabi Pasha's rebellion could do. But it was associated with many administrative blunders, and disclosed with painful completeness the essential weakness of our organization. That England a little more than a quarter of a century later should have been able to give the world an object-lesson, such as the Egyptian Expedition of 1882 undoubtedly was, naturally

gratified both the public and the Army, and procured for the War Office respect and consideration which it had certainly never enjoyed in pre-Cardwellian times.

Mr. Cardwell had made some progress with his Army reorganization scheme while engaged in the reconstruction of the War Office and the abolition of Purchase. In Chapter XVI. mention was made of the fact that as Colonial Secretary he had taken an active part in the reduction of colonial garrisons. During 1869—his first year at the War Office—he had energetically pursued this policy of withdrawal, with the result that, at the beginning of 1870, the British force serving in the Colonies had been reduced from about 50,000 to about 24,000. Previously, too, there had been a marked disproportion not only in the number of men serving at home and abroad but also in the number of cadres—a term used to describe what may be called the framework of military units. Thus, in 1868–9, there were serving at home 97 batteries R.A., 16 Cavalry regiments, and 46 battalions of Infantry. In 1870–1 the number of cadres at home had risen to 105 batteries R.A., 19 Cavalry regiments, and 68 battalions of Infantry.

Another matter to which Mr. Cardwell had given attention was that of the British garrison in India, as to which special difficulties were now arising owing to the unsatisfactory state of Indian finance. The system pursued was in several respects faulty. Battalions in India were organized in twelve companies, those at home in ten, with the result that the difference had to be made up on relief. There were also home depôts at which the Indian Government maintained numbers of men from different regiments under other than their own officers—a costly and thoroughly unsatisfactory arrangement.

In March 1870 Mr. Cardwell made a remarkable speech in which, in addition to some forcible remarks on other deficiencies of the existing system, he specifically dealt

with the subjects of the two preceding paragraphs. He announced the results of the colonial withdrawals; he emphasized the necessity for an early abolition of the Indian depôt system. Also he gave some indication of coming changes by stating his belief in the principle that, when a regiment consisted of two battalions, one should remain at home while the other went abroad.

In the same speech Mr. Cardwell announced the intention of the Government to bring in a new Enlistment Act—known as the Army Enlistment Act of 1870—which was to make short service with the object of providing a reserve the basis once and for all of our military system. Short service was no new idea even in this country. As far back as 1806 Mr. Windham had introduced the principle of short-service enlistments, but more with a view to popularizing service in the standing Army than with that of providing a Reserve. Again, the absence of any reserve but the militia during the period of the Great Peace that followed the battle of Waterloo produced spasms of perturbation in successive Governments, and between 1843—when 10,000 pensioners were enrolled primarily, it is true, as a sort of reserve police, but also to be eligible for war service as volunteers—and 1867 several distinct efforts were made, notably by Sidney Herbert in 1859, in this direction, but with very poor results. In 1861 and 1866 there had been Royal Commissions on recruiting, and on the recommendation of the second of these an Inspector-General of Recruiting and staff were appointed. In 1867 three distinct Acts were passed: (1) the "Militia Reserve Act," enabling the Crown to engage a proportion of the men in every militia corps to serve as regular soldier, on an emergency; (2) a "Reserve Force Act," under which soldiers coming from abroad with corps having an excess in numbers over the home establishment were granted unlimited furlough, terminable, of course, in an emergency; and (3) an Army

Enlistment Act, carrying out to some extent the recommendations of the Royal Commission of the previous year. These were somewhat indeterminate, an increase in the term of first engagement from ten to twelve years being made and strong measures proposed for inducing men to re-engage for a second period, while at the same time the Commisson declared that a return to long service was impossible, and that there was no reason to fear that men would be lost through a short-service system.

It will be seen that at this juncture the clear head and resolute mind of a Cardwell were much wanted. Not so much because recruiting was in a bad way: as a matter of fact we were at the beginning of 1870 easily getting all the men we needed. But such system as we had was mixed almost to the point of confusion, and, as regards the vital question of the formation of an adequate Reserve, little real progress could be made as long as a near approach to long service was encouraged at the expense of that rapid and even passage of large numbers through the period of colour service to the reserve which alone can provide a Regular army under modern conditions with the necessary means of expansion in time of war.

It was at this point that Mr. Cardwell stepped in with the Army Enlistment Act of 1870. As pointed out in the "Army Book of the British Empire" the essence of this important Act, which in effect is the basis of our present system, is the latitude of the contract entered into between the Sovereign and the soldier, the idea being to accommodate the terms of each engagement as far as possible to the special circumstances of that individual case. Under this contract "a recruit is not to engage for more than 12 years, and may engage to serve the whole time with the colours, or part of the time with the colours and part in the Army Reserve"; again, "enlistment for a term less than 12 years would be legal, and any part of such time might be for service in the Reserve."

In the House of Commons Mr. Cardwell explained that his hope was to catch a new class of recruit, a class entirely different from that which was now entering the Army largely with a view to the eventual pension. He wished, he said, to attract "the young man who is reluctant to spend all his life away, who may wish to contract marriage, but who would give a good deal for the advantage of training for a few years. There must be," he added, "inducements for that class of man to enter the Army, for they do not enter it now." His original idea was that, as a general rule, the twelve-year period should be halved between "colour" and reserve service, and that the reserves should be trained, like the volunteers, by drills in the evening—a method soon proved to be impracticable. But, apart from details, the foundations of his scheme were well and truly laid, and we are still trying to carry to perfection the principle formulated in his remarkable forecast: "We may expect to see many young men passing through the Army, learning trades in it, and afterwards returning to civil life to be ornaments and advantages to those around them, and at the same time to be ready to contribute to the defence of the country in case of emergency."

Even at this early stage Mr. Cardwell indicated the necessity for a closer approach to a localization of the army according to definite territorial divisions, but nothing very precise could be done in this direction for the present. Two objects, of the very highest importance, however, had been accomplished. Measures had been taken to keep the ranks of the peace establishment reasonably filled, not only with "old soldiers" but with young men of a better class, and at last we were in a fair way to obtaining an adequate reserve of men in the prime of life always in readiness to complete the peace establishment to war strength.

Early in the following year (1871) Mr. Cardwell made

a further explanation of his policy in regard, not only to the Regulars and Reserve, but also to the auxiliary forces, which it was his wish to bring into closer touch with the Regulars, the intention being, in Mr. Cardwell's own words, "to unite all the voluntary forces of the country into one defensive army with power to supplement by compulsion in case of emergency; all to be under the General Officers Commanding in the Districts, subordinate to one Commander-in-Chief who will act with the approval of the Secretary of State."

The year 1871 was largely taken up, as we have seen, with the question of the abolition of Purchase, and it was not until February 1872 that Mr. Cardwell was enabled to put forth in concrete form his reorganization and localization scheme, in working out the details of which, it is only fair to add, the Duke of Cambridge had rendered valuable assistance. Localization, it should be explained, does not in this connexion apply to the quartering of corps, but to the areas from which corps draw their recruits. Recruiting Districts already existed, as well as Reserve and Pensioner Districts, but the arrangement was faulty, and there was considerable overlapping. The first thing, then, which Mr. Cardwell proposed to do, and did, was to mark out a new set of territorial districts, with each of which two Line battalions were to be connected. At that time only the first twenty-five regiments of the Line had two battalions. In order, therefore, to carry out the idea of associating two battalions with each territorial district, it was necessary to link the remaining regiments of the Army in twos, each double battalion regiment and each couple of linked single battalion regiments being regarded as a brigade. In the case of every brigade there were to be sixteen service companies, eight for each battalion, and four depôt companies. With each regular brigade were associated

two militia battalions and the volunteers of the district, and these, with the depôt companies, were to rest on a brigade depôt or centre which could be converted into a third battalion on an emergency. Of the two Line battalions one was to be abroad, the other at home. The militia was to train as a rule at the head-quarters of the territorial district, and by placing both the militia battalions and the volunteers of the district under the colonel commanding the district, a higher standard of training for the auxiliary forces would be attained.

Parenthetically it may be stated that the idea of the linked-battalion system with one battalion serving abroad, more or less fed by its "link" at home, seems to have been suggested to Mr. Cardwell by Mr., afterwards Sir Ralph, Knox, who, indeed, claimed to have been practically the inventor of the new short-service system also. Certainly Mr. Knox, from the time Mr. Cardwell went to the War Office, was most closely associated with him on terms of complete confidence.

The Cardwell scheme did something more than introduce system where system had never existed. It saved the Army from the certain reduction of at least several battalions, for, as has been explained, India was now beginning to find the strain of her military expenditure more than she could conveniently bear, and was seeking to send home several regiments both of cavalry and infantry. By abolishing the old Indian depôts and by reducing the number of service companies in all battalions to eight, a saving was effected which met the needs of the Government of India, and prevented the dispatch home of units which in all probability Mr. Gladstone would have been forced to disband as superfluous to our requirements and involving a heavy additional charge on the Imperial Exchequer.

The essential greatness of the changes introduced

by Mr. Cardwell is, perhaps, best gauged by their stability. Modifications, to which attention will be drawn in succeeding chapters, have been made in the plan of brigade depôts; territorialization has been considerably developed; the militia, alas! has been improved nearly out of existence; the volunteers have gone, and in their place is a Territorial Force on other lines. But fundamentally we have to-day the same basic principles underlying our military system as those on which Mr. Cardwell reared his great edifice of Army reform. Short service still provides us with a reserve; localization still associates the regiments of the Line with territorial districts for recruiting purposes; the depot, although its character is altered, still connects the militia with the Line, and both with the territorial district; and of two "linked" battalions—the linking now being regimental throughout—one serves abroad, depending largely for drafts upon the one at home. When we recall the number of attempts at Army reform—some of them on a very extensive and comprehensive scale—which have been made in the last forty years, the vitality of the Cardwell scheme comes into stronger and stronger relief, until it is difficult to find words in which to express due admiration of the extraordinary breadth of mind, the mastery of detail, the patience, and the persistence which this great man brought to bear on the execution of his monumental project.

Mr. Cardwell did not encounter in regard to his reorganization scheme quite such violent opposition as that with which his measure for the abolition of Purchase was met. But there were many discouragements, and some very pronounced murmurs of dissatisfaction. If he had not to complain of "stabs in the dark," such as those which were dealt him by unscrupulous hands in the interests of Purchase, he had painful experience of the niggardliness of the Treasury, which refused him

assistance in regard to paltry details, notwithstanding the grandly economical character of his whole policy. On the whole his colleagues in the Ministry seem to have supported him loyally, but it must have been impossible for him not to see that some of them were greatly perturbed by the strength of the opposition to his changes, and would have been much relieved to see his whole programme thrown to the winds. Finally, in the Army itself the new dispensation was resented. To the first twenty-five regiments of the Line, of course, the localization scheme made practically no difference, but in the case of others the objection was raised that something of the old regimental individuality would be lost—and no doubt it was lost—in the process of "linking" up corps which had previously had no sort of connexion, and bringing them into some sort of actual relationship by means of common depôts.

But Mr. Cardwell was not without his compensations. Apart from such loyal helpers as Lord Northbrook, Major Biddulph, and Mr. Knox, there was now at the War Office a little band of soldiers, some of them with service in the Crimea to their credit, who had been profoundly impressed by the course of the Franco-German War, and who quickly realized the correctness of Mr. Cardwell's policy. At the head of these was Colonel Garnet Wolseley, whose particular duty it was, as Assistant-Adjutant-General, to deal with all important courts-martial and other matters connected with the discipline of the Army. Colonel Wolseley was already a soldier of repute by reason of his successful conduct of the Red River Expedition, and was already beginning to incur suspicion and dislike on the part of the "old school" by reason of his progressive views on many other subjects besides discipline. To him Mr. Cardwell instinctively turned, and it is evident that the intercourse between the two, in many ways curiously

different, men—for Wolseley was a soldier born as well as bred, and Cardwell neither belonged to a military family nor found the study of military matters really congenial to his tastes—soon became an intimate and friendly one. Among other soldier-supporters of the Cardwell scheme was Captain Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer. Lord Wolseley also mentions Sir George Colley, Sir Henry Brackenbury, and Sir Frederick Maurice as having materially aided Mr. Cardwell at this juncture. It is clear then that, though the Secretary of State for War may have had a large proportion of senior officers more or less openly arrayed against him, he had the gratification of knowing that some of the best brains of the Army were on his side.

A greater satisfaction was to come. The Ashanti War of 1873–4 was in some measure a proof of the goodness of Mr. Cardwell's work, and Lord Northbrook was clearly justified in congratulating his former chief—he himself had left the War Office in 1872—on the circumstance that the operations had only cost £900,000, as against the £8,600,000 which we had spent in 1868 in Abyssinia. But a far more critical test was the Egyptian Expedition of 1882. To Cardwell, now a Peer, Gladstone wrote in September 1882 words which must indeed have filled the ex-War Minister with pride, and gone far to obliterate the bitter memories with which his long struggle against ignorance and prejudice in regard to Army Reform were so unworthily associated. "We must," he said, "and do think of one who, far at this moment from the tumult of our labours and our joys, laid in other years the foundations of this great success by his enlightened, courageous, and indefatigable work for the reorganisation of the British Army."

Mr. Cardwell remained at the War Office until 1874, having held the Secretaryship of State for War for over

five years. On the resignation of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry he was raised to the Upper House as Lord Cardwell of Ellerbeck. He died in 1886 of a brain disease which Lord Wolseley believes to have been the result of the worry, work, abuse, and anxiety he underwent in 1870–2 "at the hands of men who did not understand modern warfare or its requirements." A fine personal appreciation of him is to be found in the notice of his life contributed to the "Dictionary of National Biography" by Mr. Goldwin Smith, who speaks of him as an administrator "thoroughly patriotic and public-spirited, utterly free from jobbery of any sort, laborious, discreet, courteous, kind and considerate to subordinates, conciliatory, yet tenacious of his opinion when he had satisfied himself he was in the right."

As a War Minister Mr. Cardwell occupies a place apart. In regard to individual achievements he has been approached, possibly surpassed, by both of those who were before and after him. He had not the extraordinarily close sympathy with the inner life of the Army which surrounded with a peculiar nobility the life-work of Sidney Herbert. He was not called upon, like Lord Lansdowne, to govern the War Office and control the Army through a strangely difficult and protracted period of war carried out under exceptional conditions at a great distance from our shores. But as regards alike the magnitude of the task imposed upon him, and the splendid resolution and thoroughness with which he attacked that task, he stands alone. In the case of other War Ministers who have done what at the time seemed great things we are harassed by occasional doubts as to the necessity, the expediency, or the eventual effectiveness of their performances. One, as we shall see, helped to abolish the office of Commander-in-Chief and to create an Army Council; another "thought in Army corps"; a third has given us substitutes for

our Old Constitutional Force and our former Volunteers. In these cases, even where what was projected has survived, is there any assurance of permanence? And is not the result of some years of experience a tendency to doubt whether, after all, more has been gained than has been lost, whether a more simple process of evolution would not have produced conclusions equally satisfactory, with less upheaval, and fewer regrets? It is not the writer's present concern to discuss the question whether such doubt is justified. The mere fact that the tendency to doubt undeniably exists is sufficient to demonstrate his immediate contention.

For, as to the work of Cardwell, more especially in regard to the abolition of Purchase and the introduction of short service, two facts, differentiating both his position and his record from those of any of his predecessors or successors, stick out incontestably. One is that what he did simply had to be done, and done quickly and thoroughly; the other that what he did was on a broad and permanent foundation, the soundness of which has been completely and ungrudgingly approved by posterity. Where a score find fault with the Territorial Force scheme, where a hundred would like to see the Commander-in-Chiefship restored, is there one who now conscientiously believes that the Army would be the better for the reintroduction of Purchase, or who has any alternative to short service to propose as a means of producing an adequate reserve? In the answer to these questions something of the distinctiveness of the Cardwellian reforms is to be found.

At the War Office Lord Cardwell was above all master in his own house. Sir Robert Biddulph tells us that in his administration he always preached the gospel of efficiency, and was ever ready to avail himself of the advice and opinions of experts, even if they were not connected with the War Office. "But he never parted

with the control to irresponsible persons . . . he wished to fill the War Office with the best men he could find, whether soldiers or civilians, but he expected them to work with him, and in subordination to his policy." But for this attitude he assuredly could not have done what he did and to such lasting purpose. As it was, he builded better, perhaps, than he himself knew, for as long as the fabric of the British Army endures it will surely bear on it the indelible mark not only of the genius but of the resolute, masterful determination of Edward Cardwell.

CHAPTER XIX

TERRITORIAL REGIMENTS

LORD CARDWELL left our military system a "going concern" to an extent never before realized, but naturally in such an immensely comprehensive scheme of reorganization there were points as to which finality had not been reached. Especially was this the case as regards localization, the Cardwellian conception of which had the disadvantage of being subversive without giving much hope of future cohesion and permanence. It probably represented the utmost that could be done in the way of territorialization in existing circumstances. It must be remembered that the Army was going through a very critical and uncomfortable stage of transition, and that the bulk of it resented deeply the drastic methods to which it was being subjected. Mr. Cardwell had wounded a good many susceptibilities, as it was, by his brigade district scheme, in which, as has been noted, many regiments were forcibly linked together which had previously been unconnected, and, if he had gone any further, it is quite possible that obstacles might have arisen which would seriously have prejudiced the success of his reforms as a whole. But the fact remains that the brigade district plan was somewhat crude and unsatisfactory, and in a very few years after its introduction it became necessary to modify it very materially indeed.

Before, however, we deal with progress in this direction it is expedient to carry on a little further our record from the personal standpoint. As regards Mr. Cardwell's

last years of office it is only necessary to mention that in 1871 the Hon. J. C. W. Vivian, who had previously been Financial Secretary, became Permanent Under-Secretary of State in succession to Sir E. Lugard, his own place being taken by Mr. H. Campbell-Bannerman. A year later, as already noted, Lord Northbrook went to India as Governor-General, and Lord Lansdowne became Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State.

In 1874, on the resignation of Gladstone's Ministry, and Mr Cardwell's elevation to the Upper House, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, afterwards Earl of Cranbrook, became Secretary of State for War with George, Earl of Pembroke, as his Parliamentary Under-Secretary (he was succeeded in the following year by Lord Cadogan), Lord Eustace Cecil as Surveyor-General of Ordnance, and Colonel the Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley, afterwards Lord Stanley of Preston and Earl of Derby, as Financial Secretary. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy was the son of a Staffordshire iron magnate, and was at this time sixty-two years of age. Educated at Shrewsbury and Oriel he had attained some success at the Bar, and turning to politics had soon made his mark as an effective speaker and a Party debater of the " slashing " sort. In 1866 he had risen to be President of the Poor Law Board and had become Home Secretary in 1867. On the formation of his second Ministry in 1874 Disraeli made Gathorne-Hardy his Secretary of State for War. The choice was justified, for the new head of the War Office was a capable and energetic administrator, who was wisely content for the most part to carry on the Cardwell programme. But he was strongly denounced by the Opposition for his Regimental Exchanges Bill, introduced in 1875, which legalized the payment of money by officers to other officers desirous of exchanging regiments with them. This was said to be a restoration of Purchase in another form, but the charge was a baseless one, and in operation the Act does nothing to recall

Purchase abuses and injustices. On the contrary, restricted facilities for exchanges between regimental officers are often extremely useful, and have been the means of saving many an officer, who would have been ruined by remaining in a corps the pace of which was too hot for him, or who was otherwise a square peg in a round hole. Any advantages, too, in the way of promotion which might conceivably be purchased by a skilful exchange are heavily discounted by the fact that officers on exchanging go to the bottom of their ranks in their new corps.

Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's Financial Secretary was, as we have seen, Colonel the Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, and one of the most important events in Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's term was the appointment in 1876 of a Committee on Localization with Colonel Stanley as President. We shall have occasion a little later to refer in some detail to this Committee, and we shall presently meet again with Colonel Stanley in another capacity. In the meantime it may be noted that the future Earl of Derby had served for some seven years in the Grenadier Guards, and had become Hon. Colonel of the Royal Lancashire Militia. His transfer to the Treasury in 1877 was deplored by Gathorne-Hardy, who found him an excellent man of affairs, though a somewhat ineffective speaker. He was succeeded as Financial Secretary by Colonel R. J. Loyd-Lindsay, V.C., afterwards Lord Wantage, who had served with distinction as a Scots Guards officer in the Crimea. In the same year (1877) Mr. Ralph W. Thompson, C.B., who had served in the War Office since 1854, and had been Chief Clerk since 1871, was made an Assistant Under-Secretary of State.

In 1878 Mr. Gathorne-Hardy was elevated to the Peerage as Lord Cranbrook, and transferred to the India Office. He was succeeded as Secretary of State for War by Colonel Stanley, Lord Bury, afterwards

Earl of Albemarle, taking Lord Cadogan's place as Parliamentary Under-Secretary. Two other important changes took place at the War Office this year, Mr., now Sir Ralph, Thompson, becoming Permanent Under-Secretary of State in succession to the Hon. J. C. W. Vivian, and Colonel H. G. Deedes being appointed Assistant Under-Secretary.

Colonel Stanley's appointment was very popular in the Army, and was heartily welcomed by the Duke of Cambridge, who wrote to Gathorne-Hardy that no one he could think of in political life would be equally acceptable to him. His term of office was uneventful, he being content like his predecessor to plod on quietly in the track marked out by Lord Cardwell. What probably endeared him considerably to the Army was his good sportsmanship. He was a great racing man and won the Oaks both in 1893 and 1906. He died in 1908.

We have now to revert to a highly important and interesting period in the history of territorialization as applied to the Army by the War Office during the decade 1872–81. We have seen in the preceding Chapter how in the former year the country had been parcelled out into Brigade Districts, to each of which—there were seventy of them—were assigned either a double battalion Line regiment or a linked pair of single battalion regiments, two militia battalions, and the volunteers of the locality. This measure had been carried out by Lord Cardwell largely, in fact, on his own initiative, but, formally speaking, on the recommendation of the Localization Committee of 1872. The introduction of the new system had cost nearly three and a half millions, and was in fair working order, but it was clear that improvements were possible. Accordingly in 1876, as briefly noted above, another Committee was assembled under the presidency of Colonel Stanley to inquire into the "general working of the present brigade depôt system." This Committee,

an extremely important one, reported strongly in favour of the principles on which the existing system was based, but considered that it did not go far enough, and that a fuller development was necessary. It recommended the formation of territorial regiments, and further pointed out that, as in any great war we might be compelled to have both battalions of a territorial regiment abroad, it ought to be possible to expand the depôt automatically without necessarily applying to Parliament or to the Treasury for special authority. Had the recommendations of the Stanley Committee been more promptly and fully acted upon much of the futility which for many years characterized our depôt system might have been avoided. But as regards the formation of territorial regiments the Committee's deliberations did, as we shall see, bear fruit eventually in a very striking extension of the Cardwellian scheme of localization, and as the Army Book for the British Empire rightly says, in the history of the introduction of our Army system its report ranks next in importance to that of the Localization Committee of 1872.

The old linking arrangement was certainly not popular, and among those who disliked it were the Queen and the Duke of Cambridge. In 1880 a Committee under the presidency of Lord Airey actually recommended that there should be a general unlinking of battalions, and that at the same time the term of service with the colours should be appreciably extended. In view of the conclusions of the Stanley Committee which had urged the "full development" of the existing system, the first proposal was indeed remarkable. The second seemed equally uncalled for, as the short service system had made great progress since its inception and had only two years previously arrived at maturity. In 1874 three-quarters of the men recruited were being enlisted for short service and a quarter for long, but in 1878 all the enlistments

were for short service, the usual "colour" term being six years. The Airey Committee, it is easy to see, was convened (largely, it may be surmised, through the influence of the Duke of Cambridge) with the idea of striking a blow at the roots of Mr. Cardwell's system, which would probably have put back its growth for half a century. The plot was well timed for the Committee reported shortly after a change of Governments, and, if Colonel Stanley had been replaced at the War Office by a weak-kneed Liberal Secretary of State for War, much of Mr. Cardwell's work would certainly have been undone.

But, unfortunately for the "Horse Guards"—although all the work of the Military Department was done in Pall Mall, the old name was kept up and letters from the military side were still dated as from the Horse Guards—the new broom was the very last man in the world to further these reactionary schemes. Hugh Culling Eardley Childers, now in his fifty-fourth year, was a man whose outlook had been considerably broadened, and his powers of resistance appreciably stiffened, by a considerably varied and comprehensive career. The son of a clergyman of good family he had migrated from Wadham, Oxford, to Trinity, Cambridge, and having been called to the Bar went out to Australia. At Melbourne he came rapidly to the front, and at the age of twenty-six, as Auditor-General of Victoria, he practically controlled the revenues of the Colony. Four years later, in 1857, he returned to England as Agent-General for Victoria, and in 1859 he entered political life at home as a Liberal. He soon attracted the notice of Palmerston, who in 1864 made him a Civil Lord of the Admiralty. Promoted by Gladstone in 1868 to Cabinet rank as First Lord, he carried out a number of reforms at the Admiralty, especially in the direction of increased economy, of which he was an untiring exponent. In 1880, somewhat to his disgust, he was appointed Secretary of State for War. His re-

luctance " to cleanse a second Augean stable " is plainly indicated in his wife's journals and recorded with a faithfulness not altogether pleasing to either of the Offices concerned in his biography by his son, an officer in the Royal Engineers.

One of the first things Mr. Childers did on taking over the War Office was to cause the telephone to be installed there, communication being set up with the other public Departments and with the House of Commons. The War Office is not generally regarded as a progressive department, but there seems little doubt that in this connection it led the way as far as this country was concerned.

When the Report of the Airey Committee came before Mr. Childers he saw at once what was in the wind. It was quite clear to him that his choice lay between giving up the Army to the reactionaries and carrying the Cardwell reforms to their logical conclusion. It is much to his credit as a statesman that he chose the latter course, for he could not but have foreseen that to proceed on these lines would not only make it difficult to maintain truly friendly relations with the Duke of Cambridge, but would render him extremely unpopular with the Army generally. Happily for him he does not appear to have been of a very sensitive nature, and to considerable combativeness he joined a fair measure of Colonial independence and an excellent opinion of himself.

Putting quietly aside the Report of Lord Airey and his colleagues Mr. Childers proceeded to carry out in detail the main recommendations of the Stanley Committee of 1876, and was able to announce the outline of his new scheme of territorialization in the House of Commons of 3 March, 1881. Briefly, his plan was to substitute for the existing Brigade Districts, Regimental Districts, each to be the recruiting ground of a territorial regiment, comprising normally two Line battalions, two militia battalions, the regimental depôt, and the volunteer

battalions existing within the area of the district. The scheme was a distinct advance upon that of Cardwell, for in place of linking it almost welded the Regular battalions concerned, and as in the process the old regimental numbers were in many cases obscured, if not obliterated, a new regimental nomenclature had to be devised which would at once be in harmony with the territorial character of the scheme, and afford such relief as was possible to the hurt susceptibilities of many of the corps concerned.

That they *were* hurt goes without saying. The writer entered the Army as the change was about to take place, and, while his own regiment, being among the first twenty-five and already possessing a definite county connection, was one of those least affected, he retains a vivid recollection of the clamour which the new organization aroused and the genuine bitterness which in many cases was produced. For it was one thing to be merely "linked" with another single battalion regiment while retaining the old number, the old traditions, and the old exclusive battle honours. A very different sense of injury was experienced when a number was practically lost, the battle honours of the regiment were merged with those of another perhaps not so variously distinguished corps, and it was forced to call itself in future the second battalion of a unit with a county title of no present sentimental interest whatever.

The work of re-naming the regiments was entrusted to a "Committee on the formation of Territorial Regiments as proposed by Colonel Stanley's Committee" (Feb. 1881), under the presidency of Sir Charles Ellice, who had succeeded Lord Airey as Adjutant-General in 1876. The work was admirably done, and in many difficult cases the compromises arrived at were most happy. But the abolition of the old numbers was very acutely felt, and to this day they are frequently used in affectionate remembrance of the days when battle honours were won

by the old 82nd or the old 93rd and not by second battalions of the Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment) or the Princess Louise's (Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders).

Another step taken by Mr. Childers, the suppression of the old regimental facings, and the adoption of white facings for all English, yellow for Scottish, green for Irish, and blue for "Royal" regiments, accentuated the unpopularity of the new scheme which, however, came as a matter of course into operation, and, with very little change, has remained in force as regards the Regulars and what is left of the Militia up to the present day.

As Mr. Childers had to bear the brunt of the disfavour with which the formation of territorial regiments was regarded throughout the Service, it is only fair, perhaps, that he should be given as much credit as possible for such advantages as the scheme undoubtedly possesses. But he cannot be justly regarded as belonging to the highest class of Army reformer, and certainly ranks far below Mr. Cardwell as a War Minister. His scheme, if it could be called his, was the direct outcome of the work of the Stanley Committee and was in no sense an original idea. What he does deserve credit for is, as explained above, his clear-sighted opposition to the strong reactionary influence of the Horse Guards, and his complacent disregard of angry protest and passionate invective which would probably have led a weaker man, if not to yield, at any rate to temporize, and by so doing to imperil the success of the whole Cardwellian programme. As a War Minister Mr. Childers was not a sympathetic figure. He was not liked or even respected to the extent that many of both his predecessors and successors have been. But he was in a way *deus ex machinâ*, and what he had to do he did with admirable thoroughness and a refreshing disregard of consequences in the way of personal unpopularity.

With the Duke of Cambridge Mr. Childers, curiously enough, seems to have got on rather well, in spite of his iconoclastic tendencies. He soon came to be "my dear Childers" with his Royal colleague, and the correspondence between the two is pretty uniformly friendly. H.R.H. displayed, it is true, serious annoyance when Mr. Childers suggested that in future the Military Department should cease dating their letters as from the Horse Guards, and treated the Secretary of State for War to a long diatribe on the subject, which at this date, considering the changes which were taking place in the Army itself, seems rather trivial. Mr. Childers, however, not deeming the matter of importance, tactfully let it drop, and the Duke was appeased.

To Mr. Childers were due some useful helps to recruiting in the shape of improvements to the pay, pensions, and position of non-commissioned officers. He also, in the face of considerable opposition, abolished flogging in the Army, even on active service. In December 1882 he left the War Office to become Chancellor of the Exchequer. He died in 1896.

Mr. Childers' successor was the Marquis of Hartington, who had to be transferred for the purpose from the India Office. Disagreement with Mr. Gladstone on questions of domestic policy ensued, and the Secretary of State for War, annoyed and bored, retired to Chatsworth, where he remained, as his biographer puts it, "strongly entrenched," until at the latter end of 1883 a reconciliation was patched up. About this time Lord Granville wrote shrewdly to Mr. Gladstone with reference to Lord Hartington, "if he is not convinced as to his public duty there is no other temptation for him. He dislikes office, still more his present office, and above all he dreads the brilliant success which some time will fall to him."

In 1883 the position at the War Office as regards

personnel was as follows. On the Civil side the Earl of Morley was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Thompson Permanent Under-Secretary, Colonel Deedes Assistant Under-Secretary, General Sir John Adye Surveyor-General of Ordnance, and Sir A. D. Hayter Financial Secretary. On the Military side, under the Duke of Cambridge, were Sir Garnet Wolseley, now risen to be Adjutant-General, Sir A. J. Herbert Quartermaster-General, and Sir E. A. Whitmore Military Secretary. Sir C. P. B. Walker was Director-General of Military Education, Major-General Elkington Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces, Major-General Bulwer Inspector-General of Recruiting, Bishop Claughton Chaplain-General, Sir T. Crawford Director-General, Medical Department, Sir E. Morris Commissary-General (this office was abolished three years later), Sir A. Haliburton Director of Supplies and Transport, Brigadier-General Reilly Director of Artillery and Stores, Mr Nepean Director of Contracts, Sir Andrew Clarke Inspector-General of Fortifications, and Mr R. Knox Accountant-General.

Internationally speaking the atmosphere was fairly clear, the chief outstanding question being whether we should reduce or entirely withdraw the Army of Occupation in Egypt, then under command of General Stephenson. Withdrawal had practically been decided upon when, in November 1883, the news arrived of the annihilation of the Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha by the forces of the Mahdi. Immediately the whole political horizon became clouded, the War Office buzzed with excitement, all talk of withdrawing the troops from Egypt ceased automatically, but evacuation of the Sudan was, after solemn deliberation, decided upon, and Gordon was sent to Khartum to carry it out.

Into the story of what followed it is no part of the writer's purpose to enter; still less does he desire to

discuss the rights and wrongs of one of the most prickly controversies of modern times. It is enough to say that the despatch of the expedition to relieve Gordon was largely due to the personal initiative of Lord Hartington, who threatened to resign unless steps were taken in this direction. Between Lord Hartington and Lord Wolseley there was a complete understanding, clearly revealed in the correspondence which passed between them in June and July 1885 and is printed in Mr Bernard Holland's biography of "Spencer Compton, Eighth Duke of Devonshire." One feels that under happier auspices these two, as Secretary of State for War and Commander-in-Chief, might have added a force and dignity to the relations between those great offices which for the most part have been somewhat painfully lacking.

It fell to Lord Hartington, before he left the War Office in June 1885, to make an announcement which, although it did not materialize, sent a very distinct thrill through the country and the Army. In April the famous Penjdeh incident occurred, and so serious was the view taken of it that the Secretary of State for War, from his place in Parliament, declared that it would be necessary to call up the Reserves. The trouble blew over, the main effect of the incident being to afford a useful diversion of public attention from the fall of Khartum and the abandonment of the Sudan to the unspeakable miseries of Mahdist rule. But to some at least must surely have come the passing thought that, but for the intervention fifteen years back of Lord Cardwell, who was now lying at death's door, any talk of calling out the Reserves of the British Army would have been empty indeed.

CHAPTER XX

EDWARD STANHOPE

IN the summer of 1885 Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the question of the beer duties and the Conservatives came into power with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister. The new Secretary of State for War was the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty under Disraeli in the late seventies, and had acquired a very useful reputation for administrative capacity as well as for sound political judgment and behaviour. The son of a newsagent he had made his mark in commerce by immensely extending his father's business—he was the pioneer of the railway bookstall—before at the age of forty-three he entered Parliament. At the Admiralty he had quickly lived down the trivial effect of such topical allusion as is contained in "H.M.S. Pinafore," and long before 1885 he was justly esteemed as a leading public man, of whom, moreover, it could happily be said that while "slow in forming a judgment he had the enviable gift, once it was formed, of adhering to it without anxiety." Another important trait in his character was a delightful mixture of modesty and independence. Anything but self-assertive, he was no sort of truckler, and, if his association with the Duke of Cambridge had been more protracted than it was, it is not in the least likely that he would have allowed even that personage to gain any real ascendancy.

The contrast between the Secretary of State for War's mild appearance and the nature of his duties was neatly

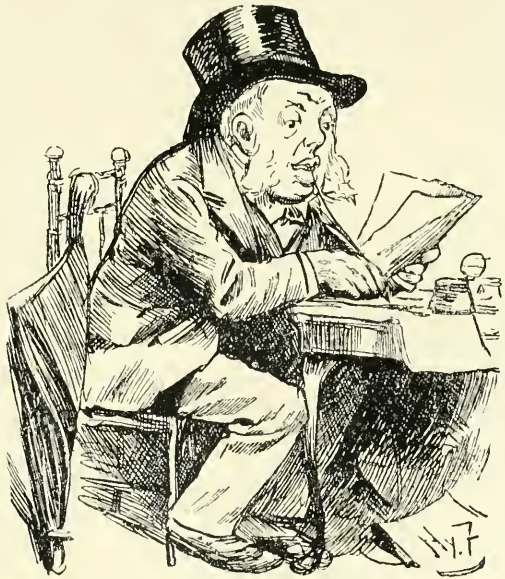
hit off in "Punch" in a couple of sketches by Harry Furniss entitled "The Ideal" and "The Real." The one shows "General Sir Smith" as he appears in Continental eyes, a fierce and stalwart individual in uniform, with heavy mustachios and a most warlike countenance; the other the real Mr. Smith, a pleasant-faced gentleman of very moderate stature, with whiskers and a top-hat, and a most peaceful expression. We have had many Secretaries of State for War who by no means "looked the part," but certainly the least bellicose in appearance was Mr. W. H. Smith, or, to give him Sir Henry Lucy's nickname, by which he will long be affectionately remembered, "Old Morality."

Mr. Smith's first term at the War Office was short indeed. In December 1885 a difficulty arose in regard to Ireland, Lord Carnarvon having resigned the Viceroyalty and Sir William Hart Dyke the Chief Secretaryship. The latter post was not easy to fill, and Lord Salisbury could find no one both suitable and willing but Mr. Smith, who accordingly relinquished his place at the War Office. But this had hardly been done when the Administration fell, and Mr. Gladstone came back for a third time to power, making Mr., afterwards Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman Secretary of State for War.

The future Prime Minister was the second son of Sir James Campbell of Stracathro by the daughter of a Manchester manufacturer, whose name was afterwards taken by his grandson in addition to that of Campbell. From Glasgow University young Campbell went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took both classical and mathematical honours. He entered Parliament in 1868; in 1871, and again in 1880, he served for short terms as Financial Secretary to the War Office. His tenure of the Secretaryship of State for War in Mr. Gladstone's third Administration was neither protracted

IDEAL AND REAL.

FANCY GERMAN PORTRAIT OF GENERAL SIR SMITH, THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.



THE REALITY—
W. H. SMITH, ESQ., WAR OFFICE.

"OLD MORALITY

nor eventful, the Ministry going out after a life of less than eighteen months in July 1887, when Mr. W. H. Smith once more came to the War Office under a Conservative régime.

Mr. Smith's first term had only lasted seven months; his second hardly completed the full year, for in January 1887, owing to the upheaval caused by Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, a safe man was wanted for the Leadership of the House of Commons, and once more Lord Salisbury turned to "Old Morality." The vacant War Office was filled by the transfer from another department of Mr. Edward Stanhope, who was destined to remain at his new post as long as Mr Cardwell did, and to leave behind him, too, a very honourable record of useful and progressive achievement.

The Hon. Edward Stanhope was the second son of the fifth Earl Stanhope. He went from Harrow to Christ Church, Oxford, and was quite a good cricketer, football-player, athlete, and shot, in spite of an apparently rather fragile physique. For a time he practised with some success at the Parliamentary Bar, but politics soon claimed his undivided attention, and, having entered Parliament at the age of thirty in 1870, he became eight years later Indian Under-Secretary. In 1886 he was for a time first Colonial and then Indian Secretary of State in Lord Salisbury's second Administration, and it was with great reluctance that he obeyed the summons to take over the War Office from Mr Smith at the end of the year. He received the seals of his new appointment in January 1887 and retained them until July 1892.

Mr Stanhope's first care was to complete as far as possible the Cardwellian reforms, more particularly by allotting to all Regular and Auxiliary troops specific spheres of action on the outbreak of war. This was a

matter which the Duke of Cambridge had greatly at heart, and he had worked hard to impress his views upon several successive Secretaries of State for War. But the Duke was mainly interested in mobilization for war outside the British Isles, and it was hardly to be expected that civilian War Ministers would go to any length in that direction before they were satisfied that the arrangements for home defence were in a fairly satisfactory state. This was the line taken by Mr. Stanhope, and throughout his fairly long term of office we see foreign military policy subordinated, perhaps naturally and necessarily, to domestic considerations. He was the first to give the volunteers a definite place in the scheme of national defence, and this fact alone sets his tenure of the War Secretaryship well above those of his immediate predecessors.

But in a variety of other ways Mr. Stanhope did excellent work. He saw clearly that in connection with the establishment of the Cardwellian reforms on a firm basis there were two tendencies to be checked. One was diffusion of responsibility, the other centralization of business. One might seem to correct the other, but in practice the two evils were distinct. As regards the first, we have already seen that under Mr. Cardwell's War Office Act of 1870, there were three principal departments, (1) the Military Department under the Commander-in-Chief, (2) a Control or production and supply Department under the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and (3) a Finance Department under the Financial Secretary. Mr. Stanhope considered the second of these superfluous and by an Order in Council, dated 29 December, 1887, and another dated 21 February, 1888, he suppressed the Surveyor-General of Ordnance and his Department altogether, making the Commander-in-Chief responsible for the housing, clothing, food, and armament of the soldier as well as for his discipline

and training, and the Financial Secretary responsible not only for accountancy and so forth, but also, largely speaking, for production. The idea was to make the two Departments, Military and Civil, interdependent, the head of the former having to look to the latter for the wherewithal to equip his forces, while the Financial Secretary, as head of the Civil Department, depended on the economical administration of the Commander-in-Chief to enable him to make both ends meet. On the one hand there was the Commander-in-Chief jealous of efficiency and taking care it was not jeopardized by undue cheeseparing, on the other the Financial Secretary keenly watching the Military Department to see that it did not traverse the strict regulations as to expenditure. In the Military Department the amount available for expenditure was clearly known, while the Financial Secretary was equally well aware of the limit to which he could economize without giving the Commander-in-Chief a reasonable excuse for saying that efficiency was being impaired. In the circumstances the system worked on the whole very well and remained in force until 1895, when, as we shall see, partly owing to the fact that there was no longer a Royal Commander-in-Chief, entirely new arrangements became necessary, which in turn have since been substantially modified.

In connection with this readjustment of War Office machinery it may be mentioned in passing that the Central Department, to which allusion was made in Chapter XV., (page 191), remained unchanged. As regards the Manufacturing Departments an important alteration was made, these being now put altogether on a civil commercial basis and paid for the stores they produced by the Department of Government which used them. Woolwich in this way was greatly affected. The former system had been to concentrate stores at Woolwich

in immense quantities; under Mr Stanhope such stores as were required for the Army were, as far as possible, drawn from Woolwich and paid for, and then distributed to the various District Commands.

This policy of decentralization was carried by Mr. Stanhope to considerable lengths and is the direct source of the great authority and independence which is enjoyed to-day by those holding the great Army Commands. His efforts were directed towards constituting each military district as a separate centre of action, the intention being, in the words of the Army Book, that "each should have within itself its own staff, its complement of stores, and, except as regards very perishable supplies, all the apparatus required for the instant mobilization of the Reserves and Auxiliary Forces which are to assemble within its territory."

Before proceeding further with the record of Mr. Stanhope's varied activities it will be convenient here to interpolate one of our periodical reviews of War Office *personnel*. In 1888, the second year of Mr. Stanhope's tenure, we find the Duke of Cambridge still at the head of the Military Department, but with a title which reflected his increased authority. In the previous year he had been appointed *de jure* as well *de facto* Commander-in-Chief, and he was no longer merely Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, a distinction with, constitutionally speaking, a difference, as, unless the office is granted away, the Sovereign is Commander-in-Chief. But there was a limit to the Duke of Cambridge's power in his new position. Under the Patent granting him the office he could not issue commissions, as the Duke of Marlborough was empowered to do when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the reign of Queen Anne. Under the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Wolseley was still Adjutant-General, but there was a new Quartermaster-General in the person of Sir Redvers Buller, and Sir George Harmon

was Military Secretary in place of Sir E. A. Whitmore. Sir Lothian Nicholson was Inspector-General of Fortifications, Sir H. J. Alderson Director of Artillery, Lieut.-General Henry Brackenbury Director of Military Intelligence, Sir Thomas Crawford still Director-General, Medical Department, and Sir Robert Biddulph Director-General of Military Education. The Surveyor-General of Ordnance had, as noted above, disappeared, the last holder of the office being the Hon. Sir H. S. Stafford Northcote, afterwards Lord Northcote and Governor of Bombay, who had previously served as Financial Secretary in 1885 under Mr. Smith and had been succeeded in that post by Mr. Herbert, now Lord, Gladstone. The Financial Secretary under Mr. Stanhope was the Hon. W. St John Brodrick, afterwards Secretary of State for War, and now Lord Midleton, who had succeeded Mr. Herbert Gladstone in 1886. In the Civil Department, under Mr. Brodrick, Sir Ralph Knox, Mr. Nepean, and Mr. Ramsay were Accountant-General, Director of Contracts, and Director of Clothing, respectively. The newly-created Director-Generalship of Ordnance Factories was held by Major-General E. Maitland. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State was Lord Harris, who in 1886 had succeeded Lord Sandhurst, and who afterwards became, like him, and like Lord Northcote, Governor of Bombay. Sir Ralph Thompson and Colonel H. G. Deedes were still, respectively, Permanent Under-Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretary of State. In passing it may be mentioned that as his Private Secretary Mr. Stanhope had a rising young official, Mr., now Sir Guy, Fleetwood Wilson, who has since attained great distinction, first as Lord Kitchener's Financial Adviser in South Africa, and later as Financial Member of the Indian Viceregal Council. Mr. Fleetwood Wilson had previously acted as Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Hartington and Mr. W. H. Smith, and he served in the same capacity with

Mr. Stanhope's successor. In 1893 he became Director of Clothing, and in 1898 Assistant Under-Secretary of State. His special gift was finance, but his all-round ability and many accomplishments made him, like another well-known public servant, a veritable "prince of private secretaries," and, industrious as he was, Mr. Stanhope could hardly have got through the mass of work but for the level head and business-like qualities of his right-hand man.

In the summer of 1888 the famous Hartington Commission was appointed to inquire into "the civil and professional administration of the Naval and Military Departments and their relations to each other and to the Treasury." Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and Lord Randolph Churchill were among the members of this Commission which reported in 1890, and recommended, without any immediate result, the abolition of the Commander-in-Chiefship and the creation of a Naval and Military Council. The former subversive proposal was explained by Lord Hartington in a speech which he made in July 1890, and which, in view of later happenings, is of great historical interest. "We have felt," he said, "that under our Constitution it is impossible to place any direct control over the Army and over Army organization in the hands of any man except one who shall be directly responsible to the House of Commons." He went on to discuss with his usual freedom and directness the objections to placing between the Parliamentary chief and the heads of the various departments one great military officer to whom all other departmental officers were subordinate, and in whom all the lines of administration were concentrated. Such an arrangement, he argued, tended to diminish the efficiency of any War Office Council, because it stifled that freedom of discussion which alone enabled a civilian Minister to make right and just decisions on War Office administration.

Incidentally the Hartington Commission recommended the creation of a new department, "freed from all executive functions and charged with the responsible duty of preparing plans of military operations, collecting and coordinating information of all kinds, and generally tendering advice upon all matters of organization and the preparation of the Army for war." This department was to be in the hands of a Chief of the Staff on what was now the Continental model. To this particular recommendation Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, who had otherwise concurred in the Report, especially in the suggestion that the Secretary of State for War should be advised by a council of military departmental heads, objected on the rather strange ground that the Chief of the Staff and his subordinates would not have enough to do, and might be tempted to create a field for themselves. In the larger department of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff which has since materialized lack of occupation has certainly not proved a cause of complaint.

The proposition as to the abolition of the Chiefship, endorsed as it was by leading men on both sides of the House, could hardly have been pleasing to the Duke of Cambridge, and it says much for his personal popularity and influence that no attempt was made to proceed with the Commission's recommendation. It proved, however, to be the writing on the wall, and at no distant date both the Duke of Cambridge and the Army were to realize that the day of the interpolation of that "one great military officer" between the Secretary of State for War and the departmental heads was coming slowly but surely to an end.

In 1889 Mr. Stanhope revised the conditions for the promotion and retirement of officers and made promotion to the rank of General officer dependent in future upon selection. In 1891 he caused a Committee to be assembled

under the presidency of Lord Wantage, who as Colonel Loyd-Lindsay had been Financial Secretary 1877–80, to inquire into the terms and conditions of service in the Army. This Committee issued what Mr Stanhope described in a letter to the Duke of Cambridge as "an over-ambitious, contradictory, and somewhat useless Report," and its costly and far-reaching recommendations were not adopted.

When we add to the above record the fact that Mr. Stanhope secured four millions for the building of new barracks, that he introduced, amid a storm of controversy, a magazine rifle, and that he interested himself personally and warmly in the question of the employment in civil life of reservists and discharged soldiers, it is easy to justify the assertion that he was one of the two or three most industrious and practical, and, on the whole, most successful Secretaries of State for War the Army has ever had. He was not popular, owing largely to the extent to which so many of his reforms and retrenchments affected existing interests, but, as a biographer remarks, he "had the ear of the House of Commons," and by those who knew him was greatly respected as a conscientious public servant and high-minded gentleman. His work really killed him, for it was from the effects of it that he died in December 1893—having left the War Office on the resignation of Lord Salisbury's Government in July of the preceding year.

In Mr. Gladstone's fourth Administration the Secretaryship of State for War went, almost as a matter of course, to Mr. Campbell-Bannerman who, after pursuing for some two years an extremely cautious and rather indolent policy, was reappointed to the same office under Lord Rosebery in March 1894. The story of what followed in the next fifteen months must be briefly told, but it is full of historical, political, and military interest. For some time past "C.-B." had been quietly arranging the

retirement of the Duke of Cambridge, who had now reached an age at which it was obviously desirable that he should vacate his extremely onerous and responsible post. The matter was one of great delicacy for the Duke was not easily persuaded, and clung to his position with a tenacity which was hardly dignified. After some procrastination H.R.H. wrote to the Queen and asked her opinion as to what he ought to do. Her Majesty's reply was extremely kind, and full of tender regard for her cousin's susceptibilities, but it gave the Duke clearly to understand that any further opposition to the views of the Government would be futile. The matter was accordingly arranged, and on a June evening in 1895 Mr. Campbell-Bannerman rose in the House of Commons to announce the impending retirement of the Commander-in-Chief.

After making the announcement, which was received of course with great interest, the Secretary of State for War went on to speak of other things, little thinking that in a few short hours his own retirement from the position of a great officer of State would be under consideration. The blow came suddenly and dramatically. Asked by Mr. St. John Brodrick, by whom it would seem the *coup* had been skilfully prepared, as to the reserves of cordite and other small arms ammunition, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman admitted that they were not as large as they ought to be. Mr. Brodrick promptly moved the reduction of the Secretary of State for War's salary on the ground that, owing to the inadequacy of these reserves, the safety of the country was endangered, and the motion was agreed to by 132 votes against 125. The Government recognized the defeat and resigned, and in July 1895 the Marquis of Lansdowne became Secretary of State for War in Lord Salisbury's third Administration.

We may here conveniently anticipate the course of events to the extent of stating that the change of Government made no difference to the question of the Duke of

Cambridge's retirement. H.R.H. ceased to be Commander-in-Chief on 31 October, 1895, after having held the military headship of the Army for over thirty-nine years, and his retirement was naturally viewed in many quarters with deep and even affectionate regret. He had grown to be part and parcel of our Army to an extent unprecedented, perhaps, even in the case of the Duke of Wellington, and there was no question, of course, of his intense devotion to the Service and his unflagging interest in everything connected with it. H.R.H., too, had many characteristics which endeared him to the Army, as they did, indeed, to the public. Lord Wolseley, who often disagreed with him, and who was very different from him in temperament, wrote that no one who had served as he had done for many years on the Duke's staff "could fail to love his amiable qualities, or to admire his manliness of feeling. His honesty of purpose, loyalty to the Army, devotion to duty, sincere patriotism and deep and real attachment to his Queen and country, pervaded all he did."

In addition, he was a man of great natural sagacity and, judged by the standard of the Crimean period, of much military aptitude. Within his limits he was a keen and discriminating soldier, a good judge of men, and his minutes and correspondence are full of admirable good sense conveyed in clear and sometimes quite forcible language. In his relations with the Army he maintained consistently an attitude of much dignity, and his high standard of personal conduct was worthy of the Royal head of a great and highly-disciplined Service.

But there is a good deal that must in justice be said to the doubtful credit of the Duke as an administrator and a man. He had the temperament of a first-class autocrat without a full measure of corresponding ability, and, but for the very effective way in which he was controlled by several strong Secretaries of State for War, he

would probably have developed a sort of military tyranny —using the word in its classical sense—of the most hopelessly inelastic and unprogressive description. He would never alter any decision he had made, however rankly unjust, unless practically forced to do so, and there is little doubt that, if he could have seen his way to it, he would have filled the Army with " bow and arrow generals " like himself. Nothing but absolutely monumental self-esteem could have enabled him to go on year after year holding the Chiefship to the exclusion of younger men, to whom in point of warlike experience he was as an infant. When at the end he was simply forced to go he exhibited a limpet-like attachment to his post, and a regard for the emoluments connected with it, which in the case of a lesser personage might have provoked some very outspoken criticism, and which, as it was, produced some rather disparaging comment.

A curious tradition with regard to the Duke of Cambridge is that he repeatedly threatened to resign unless this or that demand which he had to make " for the good of the Service " were not complied with. The writer regrets that he has been unable to trace the slightest justification for this amiable myth. Of disagreements between the Duke and Secretaries of State for War there is a copious record. But in every case in which the civilian head of the Army laid stress upon an important change or innovation we seem to find the Duke giving way in the end with almost surprising tameness. Of protests written and spoken he was unsparing but, as far as the writer has been able to discover, he never once seriously offered to resign even when, as he must have thought, the best interests of the Army were being most grievously imperilled.

CHAPTER XXI

LORD WOLSELEY AND LORD ROBERTS

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN had intended on the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge to promote Sir Redvers Buller, who since 1890 had been Adjutant-General, to be the chief military officer of the Army under a new dispensation, which should to some extent carry out the propositions of the Hartington Commission. Sir Redvers Buller had distinguished himself as a gallant fighting soldier and a useful staff officer before he came to Pall Mall, but as Adjutant-General he rapidly attained a position different from that held by any occupant of the billet before or since. A man of large private means and great independence of character he was able to maintain towards both the Secretary of State for War and the Royal Commander-in-Chief an attitude of far less studied deference than it had been necessary for Lord Wolseley to exhibit in his relations towards officials upon whose favour he was so largely dependent. Moreover, Sir Redvers was also an extremely able office chief, clear-headed, broad-minded, and essentially dominant. The result was that in a few years he lifted the office of Adjutant-General to a plane perceptibly higher than that on which the other War Office Departments stood, and for a considerable period he was, next to the Duke of Cambridge, distinctly the most powerful officer in the Army. In view of the Hartington Commission Report and of the President's explanation of it quoted on page 244, this was a curious circumstance. For now we see interposed between the Secretary of

State for War and the heads of departments not one but two great military officers, of whom, incidentally, it was difficult to say which exercised the more real power and influence.

With the overthrow of the Rosebery Administration the question of what was to be done on the Duke's retirement was thrown into the melting-pot. There was a good good deal of controversy on the subject, and several strings were vigorously pulled, but it is sufficient for the purposes of this narrative to say that in the end Lord Wolseley who, since giving up the Adjutant-Generalship, had been General Commanding the Forces in Ireland, was appointed Commander-in-Chief as from 1 November, 1895. It was at the same time intimated to him that a reorganization of the offices at Army Headquarters would shortly be carried out, and that, as to a great extent the recommendations of the Hartington Commission would have to be followed, the position of Commander-in-Chief would necessarily be shorn of much of its existing responsibility and power.

On 21 November, 1895, an Order in Council was issued defining the new system, the central idea of which was the creation of a War Office Council composed of the great Staff Officers of the Army, the individual members of which should have access to the Secretary of State for War, and be liable to be called into direct consultation by him, without the intervention of the Commander-in-Chief. Of course the effect of this was to lower the dignity of the Commander-in-Chief's position very considerably, and Lord Wolseley was naturally sore upon the subject. But it seems quite clear that he accepted the Chiefship knowing well that some such change would be made. Again, any Secretary of State for War who in the altered circumstances, with the Duke of Cambridge out of the way, failed to make some effort to carry out the recommendations of the Hartington

Commission, would have not only incurred a very heavy responsibility, but exposed himself to damaging criticism from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—he was given the G.C.B. on leaving office—and other Liberals interested in and impressed by the Report in question.

Under the new system the Commander-in-Chief was little more than *primus inter pares*, his colleagues being the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Inspector-General of Fortifications, and the Inspector-General of Ordnance. The Commander-in-Chief had under him the Military Secretary and the Director of Military Intelligence, and was responsible for appointments, promotions, collection of information, and the distribution and mobilization of the Army. The Adjutant-General looked after discipline, training, and recruiting. The Quartermaster-General dealt with supply and transport and also supervised the Pay Department. The Inspector-General of Fortifications had charge of fortifications, store buildings, and barracks, and advised on all questions concerning the R.E. The Inspector-General of Ordnance —changed in 1899 to Director-General of Ordnance—administered the Ordnance Store Department and Corps, and had charge of all warlike stores and equipment. The changes introduced, it will be noted, were purely military, both the Central and the Financial Secretary's Department remaining as they had been in 1888.

From this point onward it will not be necessary to deal closely with the personal side of the War Office, as the majority of those who will be mentioned are not only happily living but well in the public eye. But a few lines as to members of the hierarchy at the close of 1895 may be both interesting and useful. Of Lord Lansdowne, the Secretary of State for War, it is almost superfluous to speak in view of the commanding position which he still occupies in political life. But it is well, perhaps, to mention that not only had Lord Lansdowne served

previously as Under-Secretary of State for War in 1872–4, but he had also only recently returned from India where he had been closely engaged in the reorganization of the local armies in co-operation with Sir George White. Further, it is not, perhaps, generally remembered that the noble Marquis was at one time, like Mr. St. John Brodrick and Colonel Seely, a Yeomanry officer, the corps in which he served as a captain being the Royal Wilts Yeomanry Cavalry. Of Mr. St. John Brodrick, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, we shall hear more presently. In 1895 two important changes took place in the Central Department, Sir Arthur, afterwards Lord Haliburton, who in 1891 had succeeded Colonel Deedes as Assistant Under-Secretary, becoming Permanent Under-Secretary in succession to Sir Ralph Thompson, and being succeeded as Assistant Under-Secretary by Sir George Lawson.

By the retirement of Sir Ralph Thompson a notable figure in War Office history was relegated to the comparative obscurity of private life. He had been transferred to the War Office in 1854 from the Colonial Office, in which he had obtained a temporary appointment in the preceding year, and had risen gradually until he became successively Chief Clerk (1871), Assistant Under-Secretary (1877), and Under-Secretary of State (1878). The writer remembers being introduced to Sir Ralph in 1880 and being much impressed by his perfect official demeanour. He was made a Privy Councillor on retirement and died in December 1902. His successor, Sir Arthur Haliburton, the son of the author of "Sam Slick," had formerly served in the Commissariat and had entered the War Office in 1871 as Assistant to the Director of Supplies. He was another typical Permanent Official of the old style, but more broad-minded than some of his class, and with a considerable gift of lucid literary expression, which he afterwards utilized in the contribution

of long letters on the subject of military organization to the "Times."

The Financial Secretary in 1895 was Mr. J. Powell Williams. Under him in the Civil Department Sir Ralph Knox retained the Accountant Generalship until 1897, when he succeeded Sir Arthur Haliburton as Permanent Under-Secretary of State, and was succeeded in his former office by Mr. De la Bère. Mr. A. Major was a newly-appointed Director of Contracts, Mr. G. D. Fleetwood Wilson, who had been appointed Director of Clothing in 1893 and was engaged in revolutionizing the accountancy at Pimlico, retained the office, and Major-General E. Maitland was still Director-General of Ordnance Factories.

Turning to the Military Department we find Sir Redvers Buller continuing in his former post—the Adjutant-Generalship—until 1897, when he was given command of the Aldershot District. His successor was Lieutenant-General Sir Evelyn Wood, who had been Quartermaster-General since 1893, and who was one of the most popular as well as respected officers who ever worked in Pall Mall. Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Gipps, who had been Military Secretary since 1892, "carried on" until 1896, and was then replaced by Major-General Coleridge Grove. Major-General Robert Grant's term as Inspector-General of Fortifications, which would ordinarily have expired in 1896, was extended to 1898. In 1895 the title of Director of Artillery was changed under the new organization to Inspector-General of Ordnance and Lieut.-General Markham was appointed to the post.

In 1895, again, Major-General E. F. Chapman, a distinguished Gunner officer, who had been Quartermaster-General in India, was still Director of Military Intelligence, but was succeeded in the following year by Sir John Ardagh. The Director-General, Medical Department, was that fine outspoken veteran, Surgeon-General W. A. Mackinnon, affectionately known to many Crimean

comrades as " Jock." Finally, there was a new Director-General of Military Education, Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson, of " From Korti to Khartum " renown.

The new organization was in many ways a shipshape one, in outline resembling that in existence at the present day. At the head was the Secretary of State for War, and under him, co-ordinately responsible for their several departments, were five (as against four at present) great military officers, each of whom had access to, and could be consulted by, the Secretary of State independently of any intervening authority. The weak point in the system was the retention of the Commander-in-Chiefship. To call a man a Commander-in-Chief who in his relations with the Secretary of State for War was on the same level with his Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, and Inspectors-General of Fortifications and Ordnance, was in any case a mistake, but it was especially the case when the officer thus placed in an altogether false position was Lord Wolseley. To him the incongruity of the circumstances was especially galling, for he had himself served as Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General under a very different régime, and must for years have been looking forward to the day when, as the real military head of the Army, he would stand between the departmental heads and the Parliamentary chief as the Duke of Cambridge had done for nearly forty years. A lesser man might have made the situation at any rate comfortable by accepting the altered circumstances and trusting to his colleagues to yield him some measure of loyal deference. A stronger and more independent one would have levelled up his office—just as Redvers Buller did the Adjutant-Generalship in the early nineties—until it assumed a distinct importance closely comparable with that which it had formerly possessed.

Wolseley was certainly not a small man, but in his tenure of the Commander-in-Chiefship he showed plainly

that he was not a really great one. Of him it might truly be said as Tacitus says of Galba, that he was *omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.* He harped so much on the drawbacks of his position that he forgot or failed to realize a good deal, the appreciation of which would have made things very much easier for him and for those officially connected with him. The outstanding facts were, first, that the Secretary of State for War as such was absolutely and invincibly master of the situation; secondly, that the Secretary of State for the time being was a man of quite unusual ability and strength of character, who as an ex-Viceroy of India was quite capable of handling even exalted officials with firmness; thirdly, that Lord Wolseley, even if he had been in a position to snap his fingers in the Secretary of State's face, was no longer the idol of the public, which would have been quite content to see either the Duke of Connaught or Lord Roberts Commander-in-Chief, and to which the nice adjustment of the relations between that office and the Secretaryship of State appealed very little. Something of all this no doubt Lord Wolseley realized, but hardly all. Finally, he seemed to forget that he had accepted the succession to the Duke of Cambridge with his eyes wide open to what was bound to happen in a few months.

An interesting side-light on the uncomfortable state of affairs which existed at the War Office during Lord Wolseley's tenure of the Chiefship is afforded by a striking passage at the beginning of Chapter XLIX. of Sir Evelyn Wood's delightful reminiscences "From Midshipman to Field Marshal." Sir Evelyn starts by explaining that the Order in Council under which the War Office was at the time administered had placed the heads of the great departments in a position of quasi-independence by allowing them the privilege of dealing directly with the Secretary of State for War at his option.

He goes on to reveal the curious fact that, when he became Adjutant-General, the Commander-in-Chief ordered Sir Evelyn to address him on any matters which he desired to place before the Secretary of State, "and therefore, although Lord Lansdowne minuted papers to me, he received them back through Lord Wolseley: I therefore had no independent position. In regard to plans, as Adjutant-General I never knew of one plan of military operations. The expression used frequently by the Secretary of State in the House, 'My Military Advisers,' implied only the Commander-in-Chief and the Director-General of Military Intelligence."

There can hardly be two opinions as to the impropriety of Lord Wolseley's procedure in this matter. By depriving the Adjutant-General of even the quasi-independence with which the Order in Council had invested that official he was clearly contravening the spirit at any rate of the regulations to which he was just as amenable as any of his colleagues, and he had himself to thank for what followed in the shape of an estrangement between himself and his civilian superior, more serious perhaps than any which has ever arisen between the two "sides" of the War Office.

Upon this uncomfortable condition of affairs the war in South Africa supervened, bringing in its train consequences of immense and many-sided significance to every branch of our military system. To these only a passing and partial glance can be given in these pages, but it is pleasant to be able to have from Sir Evelyn Wood the satisfactory record of the promptitude with which the notification of the calling out of the Reserves was on this occasion dispatched from the War Office and acted upon. Sir Evelyn, as Adjutant-General, received at 11.45 a.m. on 7 November, 1899, the Queen's authority to call out the Reserves, and, the lines having been cleared by permission, previously obtained from

the Post Office, Districts were notified within half an hour, and by 2 o'clock in most of them the posters summoning the reservists were out. Colonel Stopford of the Mobilization Division came into Sir Evelyn's office radiant with the news of this smart achievement, and remarked, "and now I shall go away and buy old furniture." Sir Evelyn asked what was the joke, and was told in reply that "That is what Count von Moltke did after he had telegraphed in 1870 'Mobilise.'"

It is an open secret that during the ensuing year Lord Lansdowne took matters in connexion with the war very much into his own hands, and the impression prevailed at the time that Lord Wolseley's attitude made any alternative more or less impossible. Lord Wolseley has since died, and perhaps some indication will be forthcoming later of his failure at this juncture to subordinate his sense of personal injury to national considerations. But, on the other hand, it is not likely that anyone will succeed in seriously reducing the credit due to Lord Lansdowne for the ability and the fortitude with which he controlled and represented the War Office during this exceptionally trying period. "If it were not so sad," writes Sir Evelyn Wood, "the animadversion of the Press on his want of vigour as War Minister would have been comical. He added ten Line battalions, one of Irish Guards, and 330 field guns to the Army."

Lord Lansdowne left the War Office in November 1900 to become Foreign Secretary, and it was generally anticipated in well-informed circles that he would be succeeded by Mr. George Wyndham, who had been Under-Secretary of State for War since 1898, having replaced Mr. St. John Brodrick on the latter's transference to the Foreign Office. Mr. Wyndham had served with the Coldstream Guards in the Suakin Expedition of 1885 before entering upon a political

career of extraordinary brilliance, and to the end of his life — he died at the age of fifty in 1913 — was a true soldier. He endeared himself greatly to the War Office staff, as he did to every one else with whom he came in contact, and would certainly have made an intensely sympathetic and probably progressive War Minister. But to his own political undoing he was sent away to Ireland as Chief Secretary, and the Hon. St. John Brodrick, afterwards Lord Midleton, became Secretary of State for War. Mr. Wyndham was succeeded as Under-Secretary by Lord Raglan, an ex-captain of the Grenadier Guards, and about the same time Lord Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, replaced Mr. Powell Williams as Financial Secretary. Finally, at the end of November 1900 Lord Wolseley relinquished the Commander-in-Chiefship, Sir Evelyn Wood acting for a month pending the arrival of Lord Roberts from South Africa.

Sir Evelyn tells an amusing story illustrating the current belief that when Lord Wolseley's command terminated there would be a pretty clean sweep of those at headquarters who had been closely associated with him. Some structural alterations had been taking place inside the War Office in connexion with an air-shaft, and the carpenter's poles aroused the curiosity of one of two women who about nine o'clock were scrubbing the floors. The Deputy-Adjutant-General, who had come very early to the Office, overheard one of the ladies say, "Sally, what 'as they put that 'ere scaffolding for?" The other replied, "Don't you know? That's where the new lot's going to 'ang the old lot!"

In 1901 some very important changes took place at the War Office, partly in consequence of the recommendations of a powerful Committee presided over by an eminent financial expert, Mr., afterwards Sir Clinton, Dawkins, who was now a partner in the great City firm

of Messrs J. S. Morgan & Co., but had previously had a distinguished official career, culminating in the Financial Membership of the Indian Viceregal Council. Among the recommendations of this Committee were the militarization of the War Office clerical staff, a process the initial step in which was taken by Mr. Brodrick in April 1901 by the appointment as Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War, in succession to Sir Ralph Knox, of Colonel Sir Edward Ward. The latter, an Army Service Corps officer of great distinction, had been serving during the past year as Director of Supplies in South Africa, his reputation having been consolidated during the defence of Ladysmith. The new departure was a striking one, and there were not wanting many critics and prophets of failure. But for thirteen years Sir Edward Ward remained at the head of the War Office clerical establishment, controlling an organization several sizes larger than that controlled by his civilian predecessors, the smooth working of which was obviously due in no small measure to the organizing capacity of the man whom his chief in beleaguered Ladysmith declared to be "the best Commissariat officer since Moses." Incidentally, Sir Edward Ward during his term of office placed both Services under a deep obligation by his efforts in aid of the movement to find employment in civil life for discharged sailors and soldiers and reservists, and by his work as the practical founder of the Union Jack Club. He was succeeded in January 1914 by Sir Reginald Brade, who had risen to be Assistant Secretary after nearly thirty years' service in the War Office, a return being thus made to the purely civilian headship prevailing from 1871 to 1901.

The further militarization of the War Office was carried out largely by an Interdepartmental Committee under Sir Edward Ward himself, with the result that

in a very short space of time the civilian clerks were withdrawn from the military divisions of the War Office, their places being taken by Army men, among whom were a considerable proportion of retired officers and ex-soldiers.

Meanwhile Mr. St. John Brodrick was hard at work on an impressive new scheme of Army organization, based on the extent to which our military resources had been strained by war even with a small nation like the Boers. His plan in brief was to adopt the Continental system, and he mapped out the country into six great districts, each providing an Army Corps, three of the corps being wholly, and three partly, composed of Regulars. The scheme failed for two reasons. The weight of expert military opinion in this country is adverse to the Army Corps as a British war unit, the large division being considered in every way handier and better adapted to our particular purposes. But a still more serious obstacle in Mr. Brodrick's path was the quickness with which a British public forgets. While the war was still in progress or but lately ended the country was prodigal of its money in the earnest hope of effecting a valid insurance against future contingencies. But in a very few months the purse-strings began again to be tightened, and the question to be asked, " Can we afford it ? "

The result was a fiasco for which Mr. Brodrick, least of all, is to be blamed. He was to all intents and purposes given a *carte blanche* mandate to place our military strength on a sound footing, and his plans were laid accordingly. But plans made on the assumption that money will be forthcoming to carry them out properly, soon look foolish if the funds for even bricks and mortar run short, and it was not long before critics began to jeer at our " paper " Army Corps, and to ask for something more shipshape and tangible. At the end of 1904

there was little left to remind us of our Army Corps organization, but incidentally it had helped to assist the decentralizing policy upon which, among its various recommendations, the Clinton Dawkins Committee had laid stress. For part of the scheme was that branches of the Accountant-General's Department should be established in each of the six Army Corps Districts, and the system was actually adopted in three.

But Mr. Brodrick had much more to his credit than the Army Corps scheme. He attacked with vigour the recruiting problem, and, by introducing a messing allowance, gave the soldier what was practically a substantial increase of pay. He made an interesting experiment in short service by allowing a proportion of men to enlist for only three years' service with the colours. He linked Mobilization with Intelligence, making the former Director of Intelligence responsible for both. He also put the whole Medical Service of the Army on an entirely new footing by the formation of the Royal Army Medical Corps, the result of which has been not only to bring the standard of professional knowledge and enthusiasm of our Army doctors up to a level hardly dreamed of two or three decades back, but also to put an end to nearly, if not quite, all the friction which formerly existed between the medical profession and the War Office on the subject of military rank.

The Elgin Commission of Inquiry into the South African War (1902) dealt to some extent with War Office organization, but, in view of the much more practical result of the Esher Committee of the following year, which will be dealt with in the next Chapter, its recommendations on this head are of little more than academic interest. Attention, however, may be called in passing to a warm expression of opinion by Lord Roberts (A. 10737) on the system of making the Sec-

retary of State for War responsible to Parliament for everything that goes on in the Army. Lord Roberts seems to have felt as strongly on this subject as Lord Wolseley, but he expressed his views in more moderate language, his suggestion being that the War Office should be divided into three branches, Military, Spending Departments, and Financial—all three with heads who, while acting in consultation with each other, would be responsible to the Secretary of State. In effect this plan does not differ greatly from the system in force immediately prior to 1899, except that it involved the partial splitting up of what were then the Commander-in-Chief's responsibilities. But successive War Ministers had taken to heart the lesson *divide et impera* as applied to the military side of the War Office, and any attempt to revive even temporarily the old independent authority of the Commander-in-Chief was foredoomed to failure. The limit of concession was reached when, in November 1901, the Adjutant-General's Department was placed directly under the "control" of the Commander-in-Chief, the remaining three great Military Departments, together with that of the Director-General, Army Medical Service, being described as merely under his "supervision." His authority was thus more or less complete as regards three high officials, the Adjutant-General, the Military Secretary, and the Director-General of Military Intelligence and Mobilization, this last being the new designation of the former Director of Military Intelligence.

During his tenure Lord Roberts was more of a real Commander-in-Chief, perhaps, than Lord Wolseley had ever been. This was due largely, of course, to the prestige which surrounded his work in South Africa, but partly to the possession of a personality which would have made any such misunderstanding as arose between Lord Lansdowne and Lord Wolseley inconceivable in

his case. Without troubling himself much whether his colleagues were independently approaching the Secretary of State for War, he allowed the real greatness of his position to speak for itself, and wisely refrained from publicly complaining of its drawbacks and limitations. Outside the Division of Mobilization and Intelligence, in which he always took the deepest interest, and which, he insisted, ought to be regarded as the real Quartermaster-General's Department, he appeared to concern himself less with the work of the War Office than with the administration of the Army in its more personal aspects. Friction with the Secretary of State was thus greatly reduced, but it is a question whether encouragement was not given to the influences, now once more at work, for the abolition of the Chiefship. Those influences might possibly have wilted if Lord Roberts had boldly asserted himself as a Commander-in-Chief of the old sort, and left it to the country to support him in all reasonable demands on behalf of the Army, however unpalatable those demands might be to his civilian "superior officer."

CHAPTER XXII

THE ESHER COMMITTEE

THE Royal Commission under the presidency of Lord Elgin which reported in 1903 on the military preparations for, and to some extent the conduct of, the war in South Africa, offered, as we have seen, some criticism on the War Office. But this may be set aside in view of the far more direct, searching, and fruitful inquiry carried out later in 1903 by the Esher Committee, to which it will shortly be necessary to devote particular attention. In passing, it is to be regretted that in the general atmosphere of censoriousness which prevailed about this time, with, it must be admitted, considerable justification, the great and real services of the War Office in connexion with the war were quite inadequately appreciated. An eloquent tribute to the work of his subordinates was paid by Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons, but something more should have been forthcoming to mark the nation's sense of the strain cast upon the whole establishment from the Secretary of State for War downwards, a strain for which there were no compensations, such as the soldier has in the way of excitement and possible quick rewards. For reasons set forth in his Preface the writer does not consider that, generally speaking, the fact that he has not served in the War Office places him at a disadvantage in respect to the production of this record. But he does feel that if he, in common with hundreds of others of the staff, had worked long hours for long and weary months to supply the requirements of the troops at the front,

the ordinary routine being indefinitely exceeded, he could have made a more feeling representation of the claim of the War Office to a good deal more consideration on this head than it has ever yet received.

In October 1903 Mr. St. John Brodrick was succeeded as Secretary of State for War by Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster. By this time the country had quite cooled on the Army Corps scheme, and Mr. Brodrick had further incurred considerable unpopularity by the introduction into the Service of a new cap which roused, as these things have a habit of doing, antipathies quite as violent as if the Constitution had been imperilled. He left the War Office, accordingly, in no very triumphant fashion, but thinking men have since come to realize that he was one of the very best War Ministers the country has ever had, and not improbably the one with the most pronounced and real military instincts and sympathies. It was his misfortune to be placed in a false position by a nation which did not know its own mind, and he may be said in a way to have been sacrificed to the reaction consequent on a great and particularly exhausting war. Army organization was, perhaps, in any case not his strong point, but he was an admirable administrator, hard-working, always giving of his best, accessible, and with sufficient optimism to push along under difficulties and discouragements by which nine men out of ten would have been completely worsted. As Lord Midleton he has used to good purpose in the Upper House his wide knowledge of and abiding interest in the Army, and in private life he has worthily interested himself in a notable scheme for assisting the right kind of ex-soldiers to emigrate to Canada.

His successor, Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, was a man of a very different type. In his lifetime he scored many great successes in widely divergent grooves; much of what he did will live after him, and he rose from comparative obscurity to a very lofty position indeed. Yet to-day

he is already well-nigh forgotten, and there is little hope that in the future he will ever occupy any but a trivial niche in Fame's temple, perhaps for the reason that he lacked elemental greatness, and that he dissipated his powers, striking as they were, over too wide an area. He was originally and essentially a journalist, and a first-rate journalist, too. There will probably never be any better account of the Naval Manœuvres than the one he contributed to the "Times" under the heading, "The Log of a Landsman." Later he joined the house of Cassell & Co., and some of his minor publications, notably "The Laws of Common Life," are models of good teaching effectively conveyed. He would have made in many ways an ideal Editor, but he preferred politics, and into politics, and subsequently into the administrative work of two great Departments, he carried the "cocksureness" of a journalist unrelieved by any conspicuous tact or supported by any marked personal dignity. As Civil Lord of the Admiralty he was far better placed than as Secretary of State for War, the environment being one in which his real talents had some scope, and no strain was put upon the genius for reform which he fancied he possessed, and talked or wrote others into thinking he possessed, but in which he was really more deficient than many less able men. As in several other prominent instances connected with the headship of our Departments of State, it would have seemed at the time a misfortune if he had not been given the chance of putting his widely advertised theories into practice, but, the opportunity having arisen, the result was unexpectedly poor.

Not that great things did not happen at the War Office during the Arnold-Forster tenure. As a matter of fact the former underwent the greatest upheaval which has yet taken place in that institution, and the one of which the effects are most likely to be permanent. But Mr. Arnold-Forster was only indirectly and to a limited extent

responsible for these changes. In regard to them his personality, such as it was, was completely overshadowed by others much stronger and more commanding. In the first place the Prime Minister, Mr. Arthur Balfour, was now beginning to take a leading part in the handling of questions affecting the National security. Under him the Defence Committee of the Cabinet had been re-constituted, and his great powers of analysis and comprehension were being actively displayed in acquiring such a grip, more especially upon our military position, as probably no Prime Minister—with the natural exception of Wellington—has acquired before or since. Impressed with the idea that, while the Board of Admiralty was doing its great work smoothly and silently, and that no dislocation of the system was likely to take place in time of war, the War Office, in spite of really heroic efforts, had not saved us from the commission of many avoidable errors and the reckless waste of many millions of money in South Africa, Mr. Balfour felt that the time had come to assimilate the organization and working of the two departments. He accordingly summoned to his aid a Committee which for its size was the ablest and strongest body of its kind ever engaged in conducting a military inquiry. The President was Lord Esher, who had been Private Secretary to the Marquis of Hartington from 1878 to 1883, and had already attained a notable reputation as a deep and clear-headed thinker on military subjects. There were only two Members, Admiral Sir John Fisher, the most prominent of living sailors, who had already served on the Board of Admiralty and was to become later one of the greatest of First Sea Lords, and Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, a Royal Engineer officer of extraordinary ability and singularly varied accomplishments and experience. Among his various appointments Sir John, now Lord Fisher, had been Admiral Superintendent of Portsmouth Dockyard and Controller of the

Navy, and so had an intimate acquaintance with the inner working of large Service establishments. Sir George Clarke, now Lord Sydenham, in addition to his authorship of several standard works dealing with Imperial Defence, mainly from the standpoint of intelligent naval and military co-operation, had been Secretary to the Colonial Defence Committee and to the Hartington Commission.

To this remarkable little Committee, which had, by the way, the assistance of a particularly capable Secretary, Lieut.-Col. G. F. Ellison, was entrusted the work of reconstituting the War Office on the lines of the Board of Admiralty, and right thoroughly and expeditiously it carried out its task. Its Report was furnished to the Prime Minister in three Parts: Part I. being forwarded in January, Part II. at the end of February, and Part III. on 9 March, 1904, a truly remarkable performance, considering the amount of ground traversed and the tremendous importance of the proposals formulated. The Report, of which there is a handy reprint published by Clowes, ranks as a really important contribution to military literature, and as such deserves to be studied apart from the history which it made. Its clarity and coherence are alike admirable, its outspokenness delightful. It abounds in forcible allusions, as, for example to "the War Office, where great changes have been frequent, and stability of administration has never been attained." Elsewhere it is pleasantly remarked that, "while the present system of financial control is futile in peace, it is ruinous in war." Another paragraph runs, "It has been said of Napoleon that, by the overwhelming force of his personality, he destroyed the initiative and the responsibility of his Generals, discovering too late the irreparable loss which was due to his methods. The system under which the British Army has been trained has produced the same result; but the genius of a Napoleon has been absent."

As the great bulk of the recommendations of the Esher

Committee were promptly followed, the course will be adopted here of making merely incidental allusions to the Report and proceeding forthwith to discuss the changes it brought about. The eventual result of these changes will be found described in detail in the concluding chapter of this work, which deals with the War Office as it is at the time of publication. But something must be said of the immediate effect which the recommendations of the Committee had upon the existing condition of affairs, as well as of certain minor but still important reforms introduced in 1904, which have since undergone considerable modification.

The first two Sections of Part I. of the Esher Committee Report were signed on 11 January, 1904. They bore fruit in the issue on February 6th of Letters Patent constituting and appointing Mr. Arnold-Forster, Lieutenant-General Sir Neville Lyttelton, Major-Generals Charles Douglas, Herbert Plumer, and Sir James Wolfe Murray, the Earl of Donoughmore, and Mr. William Bromley Davenport (the two last being, respectively, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State and Financial Secretary to the War Office), members of an Army Council. Simultaneously several important existing appointments were abolished as well as the old War Office Council and the Army Board.

The first of these appointments to go was the office of Commander-in-Chief. As to this the Esher Committee had spoken with no uncertain voice, reaffirming the views of the Hartington Commission and of the Members of the Elgin War Commission who signed the Minority Report, that the office, as hitherto defined, was inconsistent with the principle of the administration of the Army by the Secretary of State and a Board or Council. "Attempts to combine the administrative and executive functions of the Army have led to confusion, to reduplication of work, to expense, to dual control, to divided

responsibility, and ultimately to the conditions revealed in the evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the South African War. As an executive Commander of an Army scattered over Great Britain and Ireland, over Europe and Africa, such an officer is an anomaly, and by the light of experience a mistake."

Accordingly after an existence of nearly two and a half centuries the office of Commander-in-Chief of the British Army disappeared. No sort of ceremony surrounded its abolition. On the contrary the transition was effected very abruptly, and with but little of the tender regard for the susceptibilities of the holder of the post which was displayed in the case of the Duke of Cambridge's retirement. It was said indeed that Lord Roberts went down to the War Office one morning and found not only his occupation gone but his chair occupied, so little pains had been taken by the Secretary of State for War to soften what must have been a cruel blow to the feelings of the country's greatest soldier. Lord Roberts, however, comported himself with great fortitude and dignity, and by the splendid vigour of his subsequent campaign in favour of National Service made it abundantly clear that, if he had remained in office for another decade, he would still have been every inch a Commander-in-Chief in regard to such essential attributes as energy, mental capacity, and great-hearted patriotism.

With the Commander-in-Chief went the two great staff-officers who had been placed directly under him in the 1895 reorganization, the Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief and the Director-General of Military Intelligence and Mobilization. The former was replaced by a Military Secretary to the Secretary of State, whose position and duties are indicated in Chapter XXIV. The work of the latter was merged into the new Department of the Chief of the General Staff. The Director-General of Ordnance and Inspector-General of Fortifications

were also abolished, their duties being divided between the new Departments of the Quartermaster-General, the Master-General of the Ordnance, and the Civil Member of the Army Council. On the Civil side the office of Assistant-Under-Secretary of State was abolished. The same fate overtook the appointments of Accountant-General and Deputy-Accountant-General. The Directorship of Contracts was wiped out in 1904, but restored in 1907.

Reverting to the creation of the Army Council, this, as noted above, was constituted to contain seven Members, the Secretary of State for War, four Military members, one Civil Member, and one Finance Member. The Military Members were classified numerically, the First Military Member being the Chief of the General Staff, the Second the Adjutant-General, the Third the Quartermaster-General, and the Fourth the Master-General of the Ordnance. In 1910 the title of the Chief of the General Staff was changed to " Chief of the Imperial General Staff," in order, partly, to denote more clearly the important development of the relations between the great Department administered by this official and the Defence Forces of the various Overseas Dominions.

The Civil Membership of the Army Council was made an *ex officio* attribute of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, and the Financial Secretary to the War Office was designated the Finance Member. The Permanent Under-Secretary of State became under the new régime Secretary of the War Office and Secretary to the Army Council, an Assistant-Secretary replacing the abolished Assistant-Under-Secretary of State.

The functions of the departments controlled by the Members of the Army Council are given in some detail in the concluding chapter, but may be glanced at here in order to indicate to some extent the lines on which the reconstitution of the War Office, as recommended by the Esher Committee, was actually carried out. For

the following summary the writer is indebted to the War Office List, which deals with this subject very lucidly and compactly. Taking first the Department of the Chief of the General Staff, we find this absorbing the " Intelligence " duties of the former Director-General of Military Intelligence and Mobilization, and also matters connected with military education and training, previously dealt with by the Adjutant-General.

The Adjutant-General retained the work previously done by his Department, with the exception of the portion above noted as transferred to the Chief of the General Staff. He was given charge of the arrangements for mobilization, in connexion with which a distinct Directorate has recently been formed. In addition he was made responsible for medical and sanitary matters, the Director-General of Army Medical Services being placed under him.

The Quartermaster-General retained the work formerly done by his Department, with the exception of the administration of the Army Pay Department, and in addition was made responsible for the provision of clothing and equipment, previously the duty of the Director-General of Ordnance.

The Master-General of the Ordnance—the revival of this interesting old designation was universally approved—took over the duties formerly assigned to the Director-General of Ordnance, with the exception of those pertaining to the provision of clothing and equipment. His work also embraced much of what had formerly been done by the Inspector-General of Fortifications.

Such of the duties of the Inspector-General of Fortifications as were not taken over by the Master-General of the Ordnance were assigned to the Civil Member. under whom a new Civil sub-department, the Directorate of Barrack Construction, was formed. He was also given charge of the Chaplains' Department. In 1908,

however, both these Departments were taken from him and the first transferred to the Master-General of the Ordnance, the second being formed into a branch administered by the Secretary under the personal supervision of the Secretary of State.

The Finance Member was assigned duties similar to those previously performed by the Financial Secretary, and he was given in addition the control of the administration of a new Accounts Department. As noted above, the appointments of Accountant-General and Deputy-Accountant-General were abolished, their places being taken by a Director of Finance, an Assistant Director for Finance, and an Assistant Director for Accounts. In 1907 these three became respectively Director-General of Army Finance, Director for Financial Services, and Director for Army Accounts. In the same year the revived Director of Contracts was made responsible to the Director-General of Finance. In the following year the Director-General of Army Finance was replaced by an Assistant Financial Secretary, and the Contracts Department was separated from the Finance Department, the Director of Contracts becoming immediately responsible to the Finance Member.

Mention has just been made of a new civil branch called the Army Accounts Department. This was formed by the amalgamation of a considerable part of the duties of the old Finance Department of the War Office with those of the old Army Pay Department. It was administered by the Assistant Director, afterwards the Director, for Army Accounts, and was outside the War Office proper, in which, however, a small Finance Branch under the Director for Financial Services was retained for the preparation of Estimates and advisory purposes. The Army Accounts Department remained more or less untouched until 1910, when it was divided into two, the accounting and pay services

of the Army being handed over to the re-instituted Army Pay Department, while the audit duties reverted to the War Office.

These details of the changes in respect to military finance may seem dreadfully dull, but they are of very considerable importance, if only as indicating an earnest desire to benefit by the singularly trenchant criticism directed by the Esher Committee against the pre-1904 arrangements. These, the Committee observes, "are to the last degree unsatisfactory. They do not conduce to economy in peace; they directly promote waste in war; they tend, at all times, to combine the maximum of friction with the minimum of efficiency." The Report goes on to say that the system "is based upon the assumption that all military officers are necessarily spendthrifts, and that their actions must be controlled in gross and in detail by civilians. This theory is largely responsible for the unreadiness for war which has been frequently exhibited, as well as for reckless and wasteful expenditure." A little later occurs the pregnant sentence, "There can be no doubt that, in proportion as officers are accustomed to financial responsibilities, the economy, which they alone can secure, will be effected."

Here, in passing, we find the keynote of the new order of things in the Army in regard to Finance. To the highly placed and responsible military officer is given a measure of financial freedom, if not adequate at any rate very much fuller than he formerly enjoyed. Simultaneously such financial control and advice as are exercised and given have been rendered very much more expert than they were in the old days, when the Accountant-General himself was not necessarily a trained accountant, when his huge staff was "somewhat promiscuously occupied with estimating, auditing, accounting, contract-making, or purely clerical duties," and when Directors and Assistant Directors of Contracts were

appointed, "neither of whom had previously any experience in buying or any knowledge of the special stores to be bought."

It will be observed that in the foregoing sketch of the manner in which the military and civil functions of the old War Office were absorbed into the new departmental system there is no mention made of one very important function of the Commander-in-Chief, that of Inspection. To this point the Esher Committee paid particular attention. In creating the Army Council, it had in view the formation of a "Supreme Administering Body of the Military Forces." The executive command of the Army was to be vested in Generals outside the War Office, who were to be made responsible for the training and efficiency of all troops within their districts. Here was decentralization of the simplest and most effective kind, and, in the view of the Committee, independent Inspection was necessary "for the information and the protection of the Council." Accordingly an Inspector-General of the Forces, with subordinate Inspectors for different branches and arms of the Service, was appointed by Order in Council in August 1904, "under the orders and direction of the Army Council, to review generally, and to report to the Army Council on, the practical results of the policy of the Council, and for that purpose to inspect and report upon the training and efficiency of all troops under the control of the Home Government, on the suitability of their armament and equipment, on the condition of fortifications and defences, and generally on the readiness and fitness of the Army for war."

The personalities of the members of the first Army Council are indicated in the Letters Patent quoted on p. 270. The first Inspector-General of the Forces was H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who held the appointment until 1907, when he was succeeded by Sir John

French, from whom Sir Charles Douglas "took over" in March 1912. In August 1910 the title of the office was changed to Inspector-General of the Home Forces, an Inspector-General of the Oversea Forces being at the same time appointed to carry out the duties of inspection and so forth "in regard to those portions of the Empire outside the United Kingdom where troops under the Home Government elsewhere than in India are stationed." Both appointments are officially "outside the War Office."

The War Office has undergone so many upheavals that it takes such catastrophes very equably. The new Army Council got to work quietly and promptly, and in several useful directions made itself felt, more especially in the introduction of small reforms such as formerly were apt to escape the notice of great chiefs bent upon the making of large organic changes, or too preoccupied with the daily round to note the creaking in the more remote parts of the Army machine. None of the members were inclined to be assertive, least of all, perhaps, the Chief of the General Staff. Nor was the Secretary of State for War, apparently, disposed to any undue exercise of his authority. A conscientious, capable, if, in the opinion of many, a misplaced man, he had not failed to realize that his own previously well-ventilated schemes of Army Reform were pallid makeshifts compared with the robust dogmas of the Esher Committee. He had accordingly given the latter every assistance, and later he did all he could to put its policy into practice. In particular, he was engaged in formulating a concrete scheme for the creation of a General Staff on the lines of the Committee's Report when Mr. Balfour's Ministry fell in the autumn of 1905, and Mr. R. B. Haldane in October became Secretary of State for War in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Radical Administration.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PATH OF PROGRESS

WITH the coming of Mr. Haldane a full and interesting chapter of War Office as well as of Army history was opened. It is a period, however, which the present writer feels he would not be justified in treating otherwise than briefly and somewhat discursively. He has endeavoured to deal with what has gone before from the standpoint of a humble student of history in the broad sense of the term, and has tried hard to be impartial even where personal susceptibilities have been somewhat strongly involved. But from this point onwards it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to avoid writing in a partisan spirit. The facts and actions recorded are so near that they cannot yet be viewed in a satisfying perspective, and the bulk of them are obscured by clouds of controversy some of which show no signs of lifting. This chapter must not, then, in any case be regarded as an attempt at writing history. It is simple journalism, and may quite conceivably have to be rewritten in the happy event of a second edition of this work being called for. At the same time the need for some continuation of the preceding narrative seems to be indicated, if only in order to mark more clearly than was possible in the last chapter the lines upon which the recommendations of the Esher Committee are being developed.

The return of the Radicals to power with an overwhelming majority after an interval of ten years naturally produced in military circles a certain amount of anxious

speculation. It was expected that the new Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, himself an ex-Secretary of State for War, would select one of his ablest supporters for the latter post, and this anticipation was fully realized by the choice made of Mr. Haldane. The latter had not as yet held office, it is true, but he was very well known as an extremely able and accomplished man who had, since his entry into Parliament in 1885, rendered excellent service to his Party. By profession a barrister, and a very successful one, he had studied philosophy deeply, and had collaborated with another in a translation of Schopenhauer's *magnum opus* in addition to writing on his own account "The Pathway to Reality" and a life of Adam Smith. As happens more especially with Scotsmen, his own philosophy had an extremely practical side, and it soon became evident that the new Secretary of State for War had every intention not only of taking his duties seriously but of making his mark as an energetic and broad-minded administrator.

At an early stage of his official career Mr. Haldane, from his place on the Treasury Bench, put in an eloquent plea that time should be allowed him for clear-thinking. His House of Commons manner was excellent: an attractive blend of genial optimism and, as a rule, sound reasoning, coupled with a fluency which, pleasing at first, became later rather wearing. His claims on the patience of the House and of the Nation were readily allowed, but considerable feeling was aroused by his first important military measure, the reduction, namely, of the Regular Army by nearly 20,000 men. In this proposition he claimed, as a matter of course, to have the support of his military advisers, who now included one of the strongest and ablest men in the Army, General Sir William, now Field-Marshal Lord, Nicholson. Sir William, after remaining for some years "on the shelf"

—he had been Director-General of Mobilization and Intelligence under Lord Roberts, and had left the War Office with his chief as the result of the Esher Committee's Report—had joined the Army Council as Quartermaster-General, and it was regarded as peculiarly strange that such a particularly independent, not to say masterful, officer should have so readily concurred in what he can hardly have considered an advantageous proceeding from any military standpoint.

The episode proved illuminating. From that point onward the Army Council, of which Sir William Nicholson shortly became the First Military Member, with, as explained elsewhere, the fuller title of Chief of the Imperial General Staff, was in all higher matters of military policy the mere echo of the will of the Secretary of State for War. The unanimity was perfect, the subordination complete. Moreover, not only did Mr. Haldane hypnotise this strong military body into utter obedience to his will and pleasure; he even turned them into willing economists. He himself spoke in the House of Commons with surprised admiration of the ardour with which his military advisers threw themselves into the task of cutting down the Estimates. It is not on record that any Member of Council or Director has yet proposed to apply the pruning-knife to his own salary or Department, but in other directions the fact that it strove to out-Haldane Haldane in the matter of frugality will long be remembered to the credit of this particular Army Council.

At this point we may turn aside for a moment to say a very few words on the vexed question as to what should be the attitude of individual members of the Army Council in regard to propositions of which they do not approve. The Esher Committee, anticipating that difficulties might arise in this connexion, put the matter plainly in language which could hardly be improved upon. After laying it down that decisions taken would stand,

and executive orders would be issued, in the name of the Council as a whole, the Report goes on to say, "It thus becomes the duty of any Military Member or Members of the Council who may dissent from a decision taken, either to resign office, or to accept a share of responsibility for the action involved. While, therefore, loyalty to the Service should prevent any Member from retaining office, if what he considers a vital principle of policy is contravened, loyalty to colleagues will prevent the opinions of individual Members from becoming known outside the Council-Room. The dissent of any Member who does not therefore resign is, by that fact, annulled, and he must accept his share of the consequent responsibility." To some it may appear remarkable that four General Officers of light and leading should have been able to see so completely eye to eye with Mr. Haldane in the matter of cutting down the Regulars by so many thousands, but the fact remains that any scruples they may have entertained were apparently without difficulty removed, and their responsibility to the country and to the Service in the matter is clearly the same as that incurred by their civilian chief.

Mr. Haldane's other great measures of "reform" were the substitution of the Territorial Force for the volunteers; the practical abolition of the militia, for eleven centuries the Old Constitutional Force of the country, and its replacement by the Special Reserve; the carrying out of Mr. Arnold-Forster's scheme of a General Staff; and the effective organization of an Expeditionary Force of six large infantry divisions and a cavalry division. Into these matters the writer does not feel called upon to enter at all closely. The first two lie largely outside the War Office except as regards the institution of a new Directorate in the Department of the Civil Member, and presided over by a Director-General, in which all that concerns the relations between Army Head-quarters and

the Territorial Force is dealt with. Most of the actual administration of the Territorial Force is left to the County Associations, the formation of which was a matter of considerable difficulty, and one which still produces occasional embarrassments, owing to imperfect appreciation on the part of the War Office of the substantial assistance it receives from these bodies.

For the rest the Territorial Force is a subject upon which two schools of thought *certant et adhuc sub judice lis est.* It was Mr. Haldane's dream that it would stand between this country and compulsory service in any shape or form, and into its creation and, one may almost add, its exploitation, he threw himself with an ardour and an optimism which for a time were genuinely impressive. He asked for and obtained the loyal co-operation of both political Parties. Very considerable sums were spent upon the Force, and the help of many distinguished Regular officers was called in in order to stiffen the higher commands and staff. Unquestionably a considerable measure of success was attained, and in point of training and all-round efficiency, as well as of organization, the Force is obviously in advance of that which it replaced. But the sanguine expectations of its founder have not been realized, and there are unmistakable signs that, unless a marked change takes place in the national attitude towards voluntary military service, they never will be. Here the matter must be allowed to rest as far as this record is concerned. The most that need be added is an expression of regret that Mr. Haldane and a little group of partisans have displayed rather undue animus against critics who, after giving the Territorial Force scheme every sort of fair chance, are beginning to be convinced that it is, as it stands, inadequate, and are accordingly seeking some other means of " making good." It was not perhaps surprising that Mr. Haldane did not take his disappointment as philosophically as his early

studies might have led us to expect he would. But at least he might have kept more steadily in view the unquestionable fact that no War Minister has ever been helped by political opponents as he was in regard to his Territorial scheme.

If some dubiety exists as to the greatness of Mr. Haldane's achievement in the matter of his chief project there is little or none as regards the present futility of the conversion of the militia into the Special Reserve. The old militia had various faults, but repeatedly it came forward in time of war and did useful service, and it was essentially a popular force from the standpoint of officers as well as rank and file. It is hardly too much to say that there is now no more troublesome problem at the War Office than the question of the future of the Special Reserve, and no amount of optimism or juggling with figures will remove the impression that happier means might have been adopted to preserve the old militia spirit than those adopted. For the latter have resulted in a marked decrease of strength, accompanied by disproportionate youthfulness, and a gradual disappearance of attributes that formerly served to make a Militia commission attractive to youngsters of County families who for some reason or another are debarred from entering the Regular Army, and to whom service with the Territorials does not appeal.

Perhaps Mr. Haldane's greatest success lay in his warm support of the measures leading up to the formation on its present lines of the Imperial General Staff. Here his strong good sense and breadth of mind were shown to the greatest advantage, and, though to the Esher Committee first, and to Mr. Arnold-Forster afterwards, much credit was due for laying down the groundwork of the scheme, it is Mr. Haldane whom we have chiefly to thank for making the Imperial General Staff the splendidly efficient machine which it already is. Without his encouragement

and ready acceptance of the postulate that here was a direction in which undue frugality would be the worst form of economy, such results as were easily and smoothly attained in less than five years would have been entirely out of the question. Another point to be scored to his credit is the fact that, after his first cruel reduction of our Regular strength, he made a firm stand against the extremists among his Radical colleagues, and declined to lend himself to any further curtailment.

Most of our War Ministers have sins of omission as well as of commission to answer for, and Mr. Haldane's record in this respect is a somewhat serious one. His neglect of the outstanding realities of aeronautical progress, and his failure to provide for contingencies which were fast becoming certainties, will always be blots upon his official career. Time after time he would discourse on this subject in the House of Commons with a fluency, and an air of taking his audience into his confidence, which up to a certain point were captivating and almost convincing. One day he would announce with a distinct suggestion of finality that we were "going in for dirigibles." A little later the House would get the impression that the War Office was only waiting for the completion of an elaborate series of investigations to embark upon the manufacture of aeroplanes to an extent which would be instantly satisfactory, and later make us the envy of the civilized world. But all the time next to nothing was being done; in fact one may almost go the length of saying that aeronautical progress in the Army was being deliberately starved. Happily, before Mr. Haldane's tenure came to a close, a new Parliamentary Under-Secretary was appointed to the War Office who took a lively interest in the subject, and who had both the courage of his convictions and the driving-power to force others to his way of thinking. To Colonel Seely in this capacity the Army and the Nation perhaps owe still more, as regards

the introduction of a new policy in relation to Service aeronautics, than to Colonel Seely in his later avatar as Mr. Haldane's successor. Be this as it may, he certainly saved England from drifting on to the rocks towards which it was speeding through Mr. Haldane's procrastination and ill-timed parsimony.

During all this time we have said little of the War Office, for the simple reason that from December 1905 to June 1912, when he became Lord Chancellor, Mr. Haldane—now Lord Haldane of Cloan—was such a dominant factor in Whitehall that he practically was to all intents and purposes the War Office. Of its own initiative the institution did little else but grow more or less automatically. Its main achievement outside those not very large administrative changes which were detailed in the preceding chapters was to shift its quarters from Pall Mall to an immense new building in Whitehall nearly opposite the Horse Guards. The move took place at the close of 1906, not before it was needed, for Buckingham House, Pall Mall, was fast becoming impossible as the headquarters of British Army administration. It has since been pulled down, and the site is now handsomely filled by the spacious premises of the Automobile Club.

In June 1912 Lord Haldane was succeeded by Colonel J. E. B. Seely, D.S.O., who had been Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State and Civil Member of the Army Council since March 1911. Colonel Seely's career had been already a full and varied one, although he was now only forty-four years of age. Going from Harrow to Trinity College, Cambridge, he had been called to the Bar, and become a major in the Hampshire Carabineers when the War in South Africa occurred. Joining the Imperial Yeomanry, he gained the D.S.O., and during his absence on service was elected M.P. for the Isle of Wight. From 1908 to 1911 he served as Under-Secretary of State for

the Colonies, and gained a useful reputation as a speaker, together with considerable personal popularity.

As Secretary of State for War Colonel Seely has greatly distinguished himself by his zeal in developing the work he had begun as Under-Secretary in putting Service Aeronautics on a sound footing. To him has been due the formation of the Royal Flying Corps, in connexion with which it has been found necessary to create a new War Office Directorate—under a Director-General—of Aeronautics. Colonel Seely has also interested himself in the matters of improving the pay of junior officers and of bettering the position of those who have obtained commissions from the ranks.

Colonel Seely's tenure of the office of Secretary of State for War cannot yet be compared in point either of importance or innovation with a good many of those that preceded it. But it is not without strongly distinguishing features, and it may prove to be specially interesting as indicating the culminating point in our present system of War Office administration. All soldiers and a good many civilians know that in musketry the "culminating point" is the highest point which the bullet reaches in its trajectory, in other words in its course from the muzzle of the rifle to the target or ground, as the case may be. That is the sense in which the writer uses the term in the present instance. The War Office at the moment is probably stronger, perhaps more efficient, certainly more self-satisfied than it has ever been in the whole course of its history. Taken all round its work is done smoothly and well, and those with any real experience of its methods know that it does not now deserve one quarter of the jibes which ignorant people still hurl at it. But it seems possible, not only that the culminating point has been reached, but that a slight drop in the trajectory is now beginning to be indicated. The War Office itself would naturally

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repudiate the idea with some heat, but no Government Department is any but a very bad judge of its own efficiency, if only for the reason that its criterion is altogether different from that by which an ordinary business concern is necessarily appraised. The writer remembers once being told by an eminent General of the latter's efforts to systematize the work of a great headquarters office which he had taken over. "But, Sir," protested the chief clerk, "if we do this, they will reduce our establishment!" It is safe to say that much the same feeling exists in all our Government Offices. But a Department which is up in arms at the thought of two clerks being made, by a little good management, to do the work of three, is not a useful critic of its own performances.

It would be wrong, perhaps, to say that the War Office is over-staffed, and the circumstance that several new services have arisen of late years, necessitating the formation of new Directorates, and involving increase of work and responsibility in other ways, must be taken fairly into account. But the establishment at head-quarters is growing somewhat rapidly, and very soon the public may be asking whether the growth is altogether justified. It cannot be forgotten that the numerical strength of the British Regular Army has been considerably reduced during the last seven or eight years, the Special Reserve is distinctly weaker than the old militia, and, apart from the fact that the County Associations do the greater part of the work connected with the Territorial Force, the latter is numerically on much the same footing as the force which it displaced. Such encouragement, again, as has been doled out to the National Reserve has certainly not, so far, thrown much extra office work upon the Whitehall establishment. Where, then, is the need for all this expansion at head-quarters? How comes it that the huge block

of masonry designed less than a decade back to hold comfortably all the administrative offices of the Army is now not only packed, but so overcrowded that office-room is being rented outside ?

The answer seems to be that bureaucracy here is merely taking its usual course. Where there is a great executive organization, such as is represented by our command and regimental systems, side by side with a great administrative organization like our War Office, it may be taken for granted that in the ordinary course of things the first will at best hold its own, and the second will keep on swelling until it either is pricked or bursts. The only question is how long the expanding process will last before the public realizes that it must be stopped. It is not suggested that the limit has been passed in Whitehall, but in all seriousness it may well be doubted whether, if the present rate of growth is maintained much longer, another inquiry of the same short, sharp order as that carried out by the Esher Committee will be not only necessary but peremptorily demanded.

If this should occur it will be through no fault of the Esher Committee. The Committee laid particular stress upon certain leading principles, and, if these have not been rigidly adhered to, it cannot be blamed for any untoward results arising out of the general adoption of its recommendations. For example, one of the principal objects which the Committee kept in view was "to prevent the crystallization in the War Office of narrow habits of thought, or of obsolete methods." In the words of the Report, "this object can best be achieved by a constant infusion of new blood into the main arteries of the administrative branches of the Office. We urge, therefore, that four years should be the maximum period during which an officer can hold the position of a Military Member of the Army Council. He should then return to active employment on the Staff, or in

command, for at least one year before he is re-employed in the Office. . . . We urge strongly that this rule of sending back officers to active employment for one year after four years should be enforced throughout the Military Staff of the War Office." These recommendations, of course, are being continually disregarded, with the perfectly natural result that in some departments the tendency to crystallization is becoming quite as perceptible as it was a dozen years ago. As for pretending that new blood is constantly being infused into the main arteries of the administrative branches, the mere suggestion provokes a smile.

Again, the Committee said "It is essential to dispense with the copious minuting of papers which has hitherto prevailed, and which leads to delay and to misunderstanding." Doubtless there has of late years been a real improvement in this respect, but there is a prevalent belief that in regard to the multiplication of minutes there is now a tendency to revert to the old methods, and to cover quite a superfluous amount of paper, more especially with criticisms and condemnatory observations, when a five minutes' personal interview would satisfactorily clear up all the real points at issue.

The writer's object in picking these holes in the fabric of a great organization, which in many ways is worthily carrying out great Imperial functions, must not be misconstrued. He is merely trying to indicate what, judging by the precedents of history, is certain to happen before long unless Whitehall itself realizes the necessity at this juncture of "going slow." The War Office does not even yet possess the full confidence of the Army and of the nation. It is still on its trial, whatever the Army Council may think to the contrary, and its mistakes and deficiencies are being very carefully watched by none too friendly critics. If, pending some striking demonstration of its complete ability to meet the strain

of a great contest, it, to use a homely metaphor, seems to be putting on flesh faster than is warranted by its all-round physical fitness, it need be under no illusions as to the inevitable result. The next inquiry, too, may be even more devastating than the last and the cry for new measures and new men still more insistent.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OFFICE TO-DAY

THE *personnel* and duties of the War Office are set forth in detail in an annual publication entitled "The War Office List and Administrative Directory for the British Army," and published by Messrs. Harrison of Pall Mall. The fact that this volume contains nearly 300 pages gives some idea of the magnitude and complexity of the establishment, and it will be readily understood that it is not the writer's intention to transfer any appreciable proportion of the details here given to his own pages. His idea is merely to give an outline of the system on which the Office is organized, and to add to this a few observations and explanations which should enable even the lay reader to form some idea of the manner in which the system works both internally and in relation to the command and regimental systems of which it is, so to speak, the focus. In passing, it may be doubted whether Army administration can be much more simply and accurately described than by likening it to three circles of varying radii and with a common centre, the outer circle being the regimental or unit system, comprising corps of all kinds; the second the command system, including the various Army Commands and Districts with their Staffs; and the inner circle the War Office.

If we adopt any other form of diagram than one of concentric circles to describe our methods of military administration we shall lose sight of that principle of decentralization which all modern Army reformers have

kept so steadily in view, and shall begin to form a wrong impression of the interdependence of the War Office and the command and regimental systems. It is quite true that through the medium of Major-Generals and Brigadier-Generals in charge of Administration—who constitute to some extent representatives of the War Office in the various Commands—and in other ways the Staff at Army Headquarters is, so to speak, linked up with the outer circles represented by the command and the regimental systems. But the independence of the great Army Commands is genuine to an extent not fully realized, and, that being the case, the work of the inner circle is proportionately self-contained. Much indeed of what is done at the War Office, as, for example, the Intelligence work in what is known as M.O. 5, is not communicated to the two outer circles. Some of it goes beyond both circles as, for example, the dealings with the great self-governing Dominions. In regard to the bulk of the remainder the connection between the centre and the two circles is the result not so much of direct communication as of pervading influence. Assisted by its magnificent facilities for consultation, the co-ordination of expert counsels, and the collation of available information, the War Office modifies or originates and, when a decision has been arrived at, it is, so to speak, codified and becomes binding, as a matter of course, upon the Army generally. In a comparatively small residue of cases the War Office acts as a Court of Appeal, or itself takes the initiative in solving emergent problems or composing unusual difficulties. But the widely-entertained belief that the domestic affairs of the smallest units undergo continual interference and interruption from Whitehall is altogether erroneous.

This exclusiveness of the inner circle may be illustrated by an instructive example, the publication of which may serve to correct a somewhat prevalent mistake. It is

commonly supposed that if an officer stationed, let us say, at York, happens to have a relation at the War Office and gets into some difficulty with his immediate superiors, or wants a particular post, or cannot get his leave, he can easily run up to town and take counsel of his influential friend at Court. He can do so privately, of course, but if he goes to the War Office he is directly disobeying a very strict injunction to the effect that officers on full pay can only obtain interviews with War Office officials if they have the written permission of those in local command. As, moreover, no interview is granted unless on a requisition form signed by the visitor and filed in the Office it is easy to discover whether this order has been infringed.

Turning now to the composition of the War Office Staff, it has already been explained (Chapter XXI.) that in the military departments of the Office the clerks as well as the heads and the directing staffs are for the most part retired officers and ex-soldiers. The Civilian Clerical Establishment consists, to quote the War Office List, " of a comparatively small directing body composed of Principals, Seniors or Assistant Principals, and Clerks, all of the Higher Division ; Staff Clerks ; and a large body of Clerks of the Second Division and of the Abstractor Class (Assistant Clerks) charged with the routine details. Superior to the Principals are half a dozen officials holding Staff Appointments, namely, (1) the Permanent Under-Secretary of State who is Secretary both of the War Office and the Army Council, (2) the Assistant Financial Secretary, (3) the Director of Army Contracts, (4) the Assistant Secretary of the War Office, (5) the Director of Army Accounts, and (6) the Director of Financial Services. At the time of writing there are 11 Principals, 16 Assistant Principals, 16 Higher DivisionClerks, 9 Chief Examiners, 23 Staff and Minor Staff Clerks, 112 Second Division Clerks, 43 Abstractors and Assistant Clerks, and

91 miscellaneous employés. These are exclusive of an Audit Staff of Accountants and Writers numbering 331, and the Barrack Construction Directorate, in which 20 Assistant Directors, Assistant Architects, Surveyors, Assistant Surveyors and Draughtsmen are employed.

The total number of civilians employed in clerical duties at the War Office, exclusive of a few Staff Appointments, was, in 1912–13, 665. As against these there were 27 retired officers, 243 ex-soldier and pensioner clerks, 82 military clerks, and 13 quartermasters, making a total military clerical establishment of 365.

According to the above statement the civilian element is still almost twice as large as the military element. But this does not take into account about 140 officers employed on the staffs of the different departments in directorial and other more or less executive capacities. To this departmental organization we shall presently turn our attention, but, before doing so, it is necessary to devote a short space to the Governing Body of the War Office and in a sense—a somewhat similar sense to that in which the term is applied to educational establishments—of the whole Army, namely, the Army Council.

Under the Letters Patent which constituted the first Army Council formed in 1904 the Council is appointed for the administration of matters pertaining to the King's military forces and the defence of his Dominions ; it is given full power and authority from time to time to appoint the officers necessary for conducting the business of the civil departments of the Military Service ; to make all necessary contracts and so forth ; and it is laid down that the powers given may be exercised, and the duties performed, by any three members of the Council, that the Secretary of State for War shall be President of the Council, and that any document may be signed on the Council's behalf by any two Members or by any one Member and the Secretary.

The Army Council as at present constituted consists of a President, four Military Members, a Civil Member, a Finance Member, and a Secretary. The President, as noted above, is the Secretary of State for War for the time being. The First Military Member is the Chief of the Imperial General Staff; the Second Military Member is the Adjutant-General to the Forces; the Third Military Member is the Quartermaster-General to the Forces; the Fourth Military Member is the Master-General of the Ordnance. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State is the Civil Member, the Financial Secretary to the War Office is the Finance Member, and the Permanent Under-Secretary of State is the Secretary.

Under the orders and direction of the Army Council are two very important officials, the Inspectors-General of the Forces. When the Army Council was first instituted there was only one Inspector-General, but since 1910 the duties have been redistributed, the Inspector-General of the Home Force, with the help of Inspectors of Cavalry, Royal Horse and Royal Field Artillery, Royal Garrison Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Infantry, carrying out the home inspections, and the Inspector-General of the Oversea Forces those abroad. The former has his headquarters at the Horse Guards, the latter at Malta. Though closely associated with it by reason of their direct subordination to the Army Council the Departments of the Inspectors-General of the Forces do not form part of the War Office.

The organization of the War Office itself is as follows. At the head, of course, we have the Secretary of State responsible to His Majesty and Parliament for all the business of the Army Council, as well as for the Army generally. A room in the War Office is also reserved for the House of Lords' Representative. The Secretary of State has no specific Department assigned to him, but he has directly under him the Military Secretary to the Sec-

retary of State and Secretary to the Selection Board—the parts are doubled by one official—and the Department of the Military Secretary takes precedence in the War Office List accordingly. It is a very important Department, in which are discharged the executive and clerical duties connected with appointments, promotions, and retirements of Regular and Special Reserve Officers; with selections for appointments to the Staff, etc.; with the grant of Honours and Rewards, etc.; and with regulations for the admission of candidates to the Army. In this Department, too, the Annual Confidential Reports upon all military, staff, and regimental officers are kept.

The Selection Board, which is associated with the Military Secretary's Department, consists of a President—the Chief of the Imperial General Staff—and twelve members, namely, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Master-General of the Ordnance, the two Inspectors-General of the Home and Oversea Forces, the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief the Eastern and Aldershot Commands, the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the Forces in Ireland, and the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief the Northern, Scottish, Southern, and Western Commands. The principal duty of the Selection Board is to submit to the Secretary of State for War the names of officers considered suitable for Divisional, District, and Brigade Commands, R.A. and R.E. Commands, Commands of grouped regimental districts, regiments and battalions, or other analogous appointments, and all promotions to ranks up to and including that of Major-General.

In the case of higher commands, such as Commands-in-Chief, Lieutenant-Generals' Commands, and appointments held by Lieutenant-Generals and Generals, and promotions to the rank of Lieutenant-General, the Selection Board makes a list of eligible and, in its opinion, duly

qualified officers, and the Secretary of State makes *his* selection from this list. With appointments to staff and departmental posts the Selection Board is not concerned unless promotion to a higher rank is involved, the recommendations in the case of these appointments being made by the Member of the Army Council concerned. Thus the Chief of the Imperial General Staff recommends officers for all General Staff appointments, while Technical Ordnance appointments are to all intents and purposes exclusively in the hands of the Master-General of the Ordnance.

The next great War Office Department is that of the Secretary who, in addition to his duties as Secretary to the Army Council, has general control of War Office procedure, the conduct of official business, and the issue of all orders of the Army Council on these subjects. He is charged with the preparation of papers for the decision of the Army Council. Also with the receipt, registration, distribution, and custody of all official letters, telegrams, etc., received in the War Office. He controls and distributes all the clerical and subordinate staff. In his Department is transacted the Parliamentary business of the Office, including all references to the Parliamentary Counsel and the Law Officers of the Crown. He has the editing, publication, and distributing of the Army Lists and of all Army Regulations, Orders, and Forms, besides the control of all printing and stationery. He conducts the correspondence relating to the appointment of Royal Commissions, and Inter-Departmental Committees, and of Intra-Departmental Committees where more than one branch is concerned, receives their reports, and distributes copies. The Secretary circulates news and official publications to the Press. He prepares actuarial calculations and statistical returns, controls the domestic economy of the War Office, and finally, lest the margin of leisure left by the discharge of these multifarious duties

should be excessive, he is given the administration of the Chaplains' Department.

The Department of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff is the largest and most comprehensive of all the War Office Departments. The official summary of its duties is as follows:—The military defence of the Empire. Collection of Intelligence. Supervision of the training of the military forces. Their use in war. War organization. Education of Officers. Selection and administration of the General Staff. Telegraphs and Signalling. Like all the six departments controlled by actual Members of the Army Council it comprises Directorates which, again, in this case are subdivided into Sections. Thus the Directorate of Military Operations has Strategical, Geographical, and Medical Sections, that of Staff Duties, a General Staff Section, and another devoted to "Principles, Co-Ordination, and War Organization." The Directorate of Military Training, again, embraces Home Defence, Training, and Officers' Education Sections. The Section dealing with Intelligence is unnamed but belongs to the Military Operations Directorate and is known *tout court* as M.O. 5.

The Department of the Adjutant-General deals with the raising and organization of the military forces; maintenance of the Army abroad in officers and men; distribution of units; discipline; martial, military, and international law; administrative arrangements connected with training and education; medical and sanitary matters; selection and administration of the Adjutant-General's Staff; personal and ceremonial questions; prisoners of war; King's Regulations; recruiting; mobilization and other regulations dealing with the above services. In this Department there are four Directorates, namely, Recruiting and Organization, Personal Services, Mobilization, and Army Medical Service, the last controlled by a Director-General. In the case of this and

the remaining two military Departments the work is distributed among subdivisions instead of sections as in the Department of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

To the Department of the Quartermaster-General are entrusted Administration of Transport (including Sea and Rail Transport); Remount, Veterinary, Ordnance, Supply, and Barrack services (other than Works); selection of officers for, and organization, administration, and training of *personnel* employed on these Services; custody and issue of all military stores; the settling of reserves of food, clothing, equipment, general stores, and material to be held in Depôts, Garrisons, and Mobilization Stores, and of the scales of such articles to be held in possession of the troops; and arrangements for the execution of postal services in War. The five Directorates in this Department are those of Transport and Movements, Remounts, Army Veterinary Service, Supplies and Quartering, and Equipment and Ordnance Stores. In the last-named is included the Royal Army Clothing Department at Pimlico, which has a large separate establishment including an interesting Inspection Branch. It is not perhaps generally known that, in addition to Inspectors of Cloths, Serges, and Made-up Clothing, of Hosiery and Cotten and Linen Fabrics, and of Boots, the War Office maintains an Inspector of Regimental Colours of the British and Indian Arms, the office being held at the time of writing by Norroy King of Arms.

The Department of the Master-General of the Ordnance is engaged on Armament, including lights and all accessories; sites, designs, and armaments for coast defences; settling scales of reserves of arms of all kinds, of ammunition, of vehicles, and of technical equipment of R.A. and R.E. units; patterns, provision and inspection of guns, small arms, ammunition, and R.A. and R.E. technical stores, and of vehicles; it organizes technical

committees on war material; it has the direction and financial administration of manufacturing departments except Clothing. It deals with patents and inventions; with the construction and maintenance of fortifications, barracks, hospitals, and store buildings; artillery and rifle ranges; the administration of R.E. staffs employed in the above works; the *personnel* of the manufacturing and technical instruction staff; the administration of the Ordnance College and advice as to technical instruction at Schools of Military Engineering, and technical questions affecting Artillery and Engineer Services generally. There are three Directorates, namely, Artillery, Fortifications and Works, and Barrack Construction, the last-named under a civilian architect.

The Department of the Civil Member is concerned with the Administration of (1) the Territorial Force, (2) War Department Lands, and (3) Non-effective Votes. The whole business of the Territorial Force is managed by a Director-General, while the Lands Branch is under a civilian Comptroller of Lands.

The Department of the Finance Member is under the Financial Secretary to the War Office who is aided by an Assistant Financial Secretary, the latter having replaced the Director-General of Army Finance in 1909. There are three Directorates: Army Contracts, Financial Services, and Army Accounts, and the Department deals generally with the consideration and compilation of the Parliamentary Estimates; the general finance of loans; the review of proposals for new expenditure or for redistribution of the sums allotted to the different subheads of the Votes; financial adjustments and relations with other Departments and Governments; Accounts and Audit. Administration of the Army Pay-Department; Contracts. With this Department are connected the Woolwich and Pimlico Store Account and the local Audit Offices in London and at Dublin, York,

Salisbury, Aldershot, Chester, Edinburgh, Pretoria, and Malta.

It is usual in the War Office itself to refer to the various Directorates, Sections, and Subdivisions by abbreviations such as M.O. 1 (the Strategical Section of the Directorate of Military Operations in the Department of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff) or Q.M.G. 10, by which is understood the Subdivision of the Directorate of Equipment and Ordnance Stores in the Quartermaster-General's Department, which looks after Mobilization, Equipment, etc.

Apart from the departmental organization a great deal of important work is done in the War Office through the medium of Committees. There are two kinds of standing committees in the War Office, first, Permanent War Office Committees, and, secondly, Permanent Committees, on which the War Office is represented. In addition to these a variety of temporary committees, inter-departmental and intra-departmental, meet from time to time to inquire into emergent questions of which the administration of such a complex machine as our Army naturally affords a copious supply. These temporary committees are frequently strengthened by the importation of officers or civilians from outside, sometimes in a presidential capacity.

Reverting to the Permanent War Office Committees, the following list will give some idea of their great importance and varied scope:—Committee on (1) Army Medical Advisory Board, (2) Cavalry Committee, (3) Drafts Committee, (4) Establishment and Equipment Committee, (5) Field Artillery Committee, (6) Finance Committee, (7) Advisory Committee on Honours and Distinctions, (8) London School of Economics, Advisory Board, (9) Mechanical Transport Policy Committee, (10) Advisory Board for Military Education, (11) Mobilisation Committee, (12) Motor Instruction Committee,

(13) Nursing Board, (14) Ordnance Board, (15) Ordnance Council, (16) Peace Distribution Committee, (17) Presbyterian Chaplain's Committee, (18) Recruiting, Drafts, and Reserves Committee, (19) Royal Artillery Committee, (20) Royal Engineer Committee, (21) Small Arms Committee, (22) Committee on the Spiritual and Moral Welfare of the Army, (23) Committee on the Technical Education of Soldiers, (24) Technical Mechanical Transport Committee, (25) Committee on the Formation of the Technical Reserve, (26) Advisory Committee on the Technical Reserve, (27) Territorial Force Advisory Council, (28) Territorial Force Chaplains' Advisory Committee, (29) Territorial Force Nursing Service Advisory Council, (30) Territorial Force Permanent Staff Committee, (31) Vote 10 (Works and Buildings) Committee, (32) War Establishments Committee, and (33) Committee on War Office Papers and Books.

Of the above Nos. (3), (5), and (6) meet at Aldershot, and Nos. (15) and (20) at Woolwich.

There are half a dozen great Permanent Committees on which the War Office is represented, in some cases very strongly. Thus the Secretary of State for War is himself Chairman of the Air Committee, which is "a permanent consultative inter-departmental sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, to which questions in connection with flying, affecting the War Office and Admiralty, are referred by both these departments." Again, the Geographical Section of the General Staff contributes a Member to the Colonial Survey Committee which advises the Colonial Secretary in matters affecting the survey and exploration of British Colonies and Protectorates. The Joint Naval and Military Home Ports Defence Committee has four military Members, the Directors, namely, of Military Training, Personal Services, Artillery, and Fortifications and

Works. A War Office expert serves on the Inter-departmental Committee on Landing Rights for Submarine Cables, and the Adjutant-General and Military Secretary, as well as representatives of the departments concerned, are included in the Inter-departmental Council on Military Rewards formed to consider Despatches in which officers are specially mentioned for services that the Departments consider should be brought before it. Finally, the Directors of Military Operations, Artillery, and Fortifications and Works are Members of the Overseas Defence Committee, another standing inter-departmental sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, which discusses and works out the details of questions relating to Colonial Defence such as affect more than one Department.

Associated with the War Office are certain Manufacturing and Miscellaneous Establishments of which by far the most important are the Ordnance Factories at Woolwich, Waltham Abbey, and Enfield Lock. The administration and working of all these is centred in the Chief Superintendent of Ordnance Factories, but the direction and financial control is vested in the Master-General of the Ordnance, and the expenditure accounts are audited in the Accounts Department. The Royal Army Clothing Department, as already noted, is administered under the instructions of the Directorate of Equipment and Ordnance Stores (Q.M.G. 7). Another separate Manufacturing Establishment is the Royal Aircraft Factory at South Farnborough, the importance of which has, of course, increased enormously since it replaced the old Balloon Factory in 1909.

The "Miscellaneous Establishments" are ten in number, namely, the Army Ordnance Department at Woolwich, under the Quartermaster-General; the Inspection Staff, also at Woolwich, with a branch at Enfield Lock, under the Master-General of the Ordnance; the

Experimental Staff (under the M.G.O.) at Shoeburyness; the Research Department (under the M.G.O.) at Woolwich; the Machinery Department (under the Q.M.G.) at Woolwich Dockyard; the Judge-Advocate-General's Department; the Royal Hospital, Chelsea; the Army Purchase Commission, of which only one Honorary Commissioner survives (see page 210); the Paymaster-General's Department; and the Army Agents, three in number, namely, Messrs Cox & Co., Holt & Co., and Sir Charles R. McGrigor, Bt., and Co. Of these Miscellaneous Establishments the most interesting are the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, and the Judge-Advocate-General's Department. The former is governed by Commissioners, including the Paymaster-General, the Secretary of State for War, the Under-Secretaries of State for War, the Finance Member of the Army Council, the Governor of the Hospital, the Directors-General of the Territorial Force and Army Medical Service, the Directors of Recruiting and Organization, Personal Services, Transport and Movements, Remounts, Supplies and Quartering, and Equipment and Ordnance Stores, and the Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of the Hospital—all of whom act *ex officio*. There are also a few specially appointed officers on the Board. The Commissioners are charged with (1) the administration of the Hospital which accommodates about 550 in-Pensioners, (2) the administration of the Regulations in respect to over 80,000 out-Pensioners, and (3) the distribution of unclaimed Prize Money. The Hospital was founded by Charles II. in 1682, and the Governorship is always given to a Field-Marshal or General Officer of marked distinction.

The Judge-Advocate-General is the official exponent of military law in the Army at home and abroad, and to him all questions relating to Courts-Martial are referred. He is charged with the custody of the con-

firmed proceedings of all General and District Courts-Martial. Before these proceedings are filed the Judge-Advocate-General or his Deputy or Assistant reviews them, and, if any illegality has occurred to vitiate the conviction, it is brought to the notice of the authorities with a view to the proceedings being quashed. The office is a very old one, and in the War Office List a succession of Judge-Advocates-General is given dating back to Dr. Samuel Barrow who held the office in 1666.

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